

BOOK III.

THE

ASHTÁDHYÁYĪ OF PĀNINI.

TRANSLATED INTO ENGLISH

BY

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TO THE
Hon'ble Sir John Edge, Kt., Q. C.,
CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE NORTH-WESTERN PROVINCES,

THIS WORK

IS,

WITH HIS LORDSHIP'S PERMISSION,
AND IN RESPECTFUL APPRECIATION OF HIS LORDSHIP'S
SERVICES TO THE CAUSE OF ADMINISTRATION OF
JUSTICE AND OF HIGH EDUCATION,

IN
THESE PROVINCES,

Dedicated
BY HIS LORDSHIP'S HUMBLE SERVANT
THE TRANSLATOR.

PREFACE.

SINCE the advent of the British rule and the peace and prosperity that have followed in its train, and especially since the foundation of the Arya Samaj and the Theosophical Society, India has witnessed a glorious revival of her ancient literature, in which is embodied some of the highest systems of philosophy and religion of the world. Our schools and colleges are annually turning out hundreds, nay thousands of scholars, who have entered upon the study of Sanskrit literature, and have thus learnt to appreciate the beauties of that classic language. Many Europeans too are taking pains to have some knowledge of the immortal literature embodied in this ancient language. Very few of them, however, have the opportunity of studying the language with that deep insight and fulness of comprehension with which it was and is mastered by the Pandits of the old school. To understand properly Sanskrit language, and especially that portion of it in which are locked up the highest aspirations of the ancient Aryan hearts, *viz.*, the Vedas, the Brāhmanas, the Upanishads, &c., it is absolutely necessary to have a complete knowledge of the Grammar elaborated by Pāṇini.

Further, as a master-piece of close reasoning and artistic arrangement, it ought to be an object of study to every one who wants to cultivate his intellectual powers. In fact, what the Geometry of Euclid has done towards the logical development of the western intellect, the Ashtadhyāyī of Pāṇini has done for that of the Sanskrit scholars. No one who has studied this book can refrain from admiring it. It has evoked admiration even from the Sanskrit savants of the West. Professor Max Müller thus gives his opinion about the merits of this excellent Sanskrit Grammar :—"The Grammatical system elaborated by native Grammarians, is in itself most perfect, and those who have tested Pāṇini's work will readily admit, that there is no Grammar in any language, that could vie with the wonderful mechanism of his eight books of Grammatical rules."

Unfortunately, however, for our college and school students, and also for that vast majority of English-educated gentlemen, whose number is daily on the increase, and who depend for their knowledge of what is contained in Sanskrit books, on English translations of Sanskrit authors, no translation of this important work exists in English. To supply this want, we have undertaken to translate Pāṇini's aphorisms, as explained in the well-known commentary, called the *Kaśikā*. Though it is not a close translation of the whole of the *Kaśikā*, it may be regarded as a free rendering of the most important portions of that book. We have closely followed this commentary, explaining it where necessary, and in short, making the work a help to the student, desirous of studying the *Kaśikā* in the original.

The work when completed would, it is estimated, cover nearly two thousand pages. It would not therefore be possible to complete it and publish it as a completed work within a short time. We have on that account thought it expedient to publish the work in parts, that it might be of great advantage to our readers and a matter of great convenience to the publisher. The *Ashtādhyāyī*, as indicated by its name, is divided into *ashta Adhyāyas*, i. e., eight Books. Each of these Books again is divided into four *pādas* or chapters. It has thus been found expedient to publish the work in 32 parts which are available to our subscribers only, and, when four parts are out, to have them bound in one volume available to the non-subscribing public as well as to our subscribers.

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• Any encourager of Sanskrit learning subscribing for ten or more copies of this work will be thankfully registered as our Patron and his name will be made immortal with that of the book by giving it a prominent place in the front of the book when it is completed.

• Our hearty thanks are due to the Honourable E. White, c. s., Director of Public Instruction, N.-W. P. and Oudh, for his kindly subscribing for 10 copies of our work, and to all those gentlemen who have hitherto subscribed for any number of copies or in any way encouraged us in our undertaking.

Pāṇini Office, }
Allahabad. }

THE PUBLISHER.

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य प्रथमः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER I.

—:0:—

प्रत्ययः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रत्ययः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ पञ्चमाध्यायपरिसमाप्ते र्यानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः प्रत्ययसंज्ञारस्ते वेदितव्याः, प्रकृत्य-
वपदोपाधिविकारागमान्वर्जयित्वा ॥

1. An affix.

This is an aphorism intended solely to regulate the sense of others. From this place forward up to the end of the Fifth Book, whatsoever we shall treat of, will get the name of 'Pratyaya' or an affix, except the 'prakṛiti' or base (such as गुप्, तिङ्, कित् in III. 1. 5 are bases, the affix being सन्), the 'upapada' or dependent word (such as स्तम्ब, शकृत in III. 2. 24 are upapadas), the 'upādhi' or attribute, the special cause that occasions changes (such as पशु in III. 2. 25 is an upādhi); in the sūtra, III. 2. 25, the word हरति is a prakṛiti, हृति and नाथ are upapadas, पशु is an upādhi, the affix being इन्, the substitute and the augment. Such as the affixes तव्यत्, तव्य, अनीयर् taught in III. 1. 96, as कर्तव्यम्, करणीयम् 'to be done'.

परश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ परः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परश्च स भवति धातोर्वा प्रातिपदिकाद्वा यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

2. And subsequent.

This is also an 'adhikāra' or regulating sūtra, and is understood in all subsequent aphorisms; or it might also be called a 'paribhāṣā' or interpreting aphorism. That which is called an affix comes after, or is placed after, the 'dhātu' or root, or the 'prātipadika' or crude form; as कर्त्तव्यम् and तैत्तिरीयम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in this sūtra is to indicate that the affixes here treated of, are to be placed *after* a root &c.; not so, however, the affixes not taught in this Adhyāya. These latter, such as Unādi affixes, may sometimes, be placed in the beginning or the middle of a word.

आद्युदात्तश्च ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-उदात्तः, च, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आद्युदात्तश्च स भवति यः प्रत्ययसंज्ञः ॥

3. That which is called an affix, has an acute accent on its first syllable.

This sūtra may also be treated as a Paribhāṣā or an Adhikāra sūtra. The udatta accent falls on the affix, and if it consists of more than one vowel, then on the first of the vowels. Thus the affix तव्य has udatta on the first अ, as कर्त्तव्यम्. This general rule of accent applies only where there is no special

rule laid down. Thus, rule VI. I. 163, declares that affixes having an indicatory च will have udātta on the final; those having an indicatory र have accent on the middle (VI. I. 217); those that have an indicatory प are anudātta; those having an indicatory न्, throw the acute accent on the syllable immediately preceding the affix (VI. I. 193); the affixes having an indicatory ज्ञ and न throw the acute accent on the first syllable of the word to which they are added (VI. I. 197); the tackdhita affix having an indicatory क takes acute accent on the final (VI. I. 165); and the affix having an indicatory त is svarita (VI. I. 185).

अनुदात्तौ सुप्तिौ ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तौ, सुप्-यितौ,
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुपः पितृश्च प्रत्यया अनुदात्ता भवन्ति ॥

4. The case-affixes (sup) and the affixes having an indicatory प (pit) are anudātta.

This is an exception (apavāda) to the last aphorism. As दृससौ 'two stones'; the case-affix औ is anudātta; so also दृषतः; so also पचति; The third person singular affix तिप् has an indicatory प, and is anudātta. But not पचतः.

गुप्तिज्-किद्भ्यः सन् ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुप्-तिज्-किद्भ्यः, सन्
(प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप् गोपने, तिज निग्राहे, कित निवासे, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ निन्दाक्षमाख्याभिप्रतीकारेषु सञ्जिष्यतेऽन्यत्र यथाप्राप्तं प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

5. After the verbs गुप्, तिज and कित् comes the affix सन्.

This affix is to be added to the above verbs, when they mean to 'despise', 'to endure' and 'to heal' respectively, though they ordinarily mean 'to hide', 'to whet' and 'to dwell'. As जुगुप्सते 'he censures or despises'; तितिजते 'he endures patiently'; चिकित्सते 'he heals'. But गोपायति 'he protects'; तेजयति 'he sharpens'; संकेतयति 'he makes sign'.

When सन् is added, there is reduplication of the root, by VI. I. 9. Thus, गुप् + सन् = जुगुप् + स (VII. 4. 62) = जुगुप्स् to which is added the third person singular termination अत्ते = जुगुप्सते.

मान्बधदान्शान्भ्यो दीर्घश्चाभ्यासस्य ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मान्-
बध-दान्-शान्भ्यो, दीर्घः, च, अभ्यासस्य, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मान पूजायाम्, बध बन्धने, दान अयस्खण्डने, शान अवतैजने, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः
सन् प्रत्ययो भवति, अभ्यासस्य चकारस्य दीर्घविंशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भत्रापि सन्नयं विशेष इत्युक्ते ॥

6. The affix **सन्** comes after the verbs **मान** 'to honor', **बध्** 'to bind', **रुन्** 'to cut' and **शान** 'to whet', and long **ई** is the substitute of the **इ** (VII. 4. 79) of the reduplicative (VI. 1. 4) syllable.

The **सन्** is to be added only then, when the sense of the desiderative verb is as below: **मीमांसते** 'he investigates', **वीभृषते** 'he loathes', **दीर्घांसते** 'he straightens', **शीर्षांसते** 'he sharpens'. The verbs given in this and the preceding sūtra, are Desiderative in form, but not in meaning. The word 'optionally' in the next sūtra, may be read into this also, whereby the addition of **सन्** becomes optional. Thus **मानयति**, **बाधयति**, **रुनयति** and **निशानयति** are also valid forms.

धातोः कर्मणः समानकर्तृकादिच्छायां वा ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥

धातोः, कर्मणः, समान-कर्तृकाद्, इच्छायाम्, वा, (सन्, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मको यो धातुरिषिणैव समानकर्तृकस्तस्मादिच्छायामयं वा सन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आशङ्क्यामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इच्छासन्नन्ताप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

7. The affix **सन्** is optionally attached, in the sense of wishing, after a root expressing the object wished, and having the same agent of the action as the wisher thereof.

As, **कृ** 'to do'; **चिकीर्षति** = **कर्तुमिच्छति** 'he wishes to do'. This is the Desiderative proper. It is optional to employ the desiderative affix, the same sense may be expressed by a phrase. The root must also be simple and not compounded with any upasarga, when the affix **सन्** is to be added. Thus **प्रकर्तुमिच्छत्** = **प्राचिकीर्षत्**.

Why do we say **कर्मणः** 'after (a root expressing) an object'? The affix will not come after an Instrumental case. Thus **गमनेनेच्छति**; here there is no affix. But **गन्तुमिच्छति** will be **जिगमिषति**.

Why do we say **समानकर्तृकात्** 'when the subject of the verb to wish, is also the subject of the verb denoted by the object wished'? Observe **देवकृतस्य भोजनमिच्छति यज्ञदत्तः**. Here Yajñadatta is agent of the verb **इच्छति**; but he is not agent of the action **भोजनं**; hence there is no affixing.

Why do we say **इच्छायाम्** 'when the sense is that of wishing'? Observe **कर्तुं जानाति** 'he knows how to make'; here the sense being that of knowing, there is no affix.

The word **वा** 'optionally' shows that a sentence may also be employed to express the same idea. Thus **कर्तुमिच्छति** or **चिकीर्षति**.

The word धातोः being especially used in this sūtra, shows that this सन् is an ārdhadhātuka affix, while the सन् taught in the two preceding sūtras, will not get this designation.

Vart : The affix सन् is added, when the sense is that of 'in imminent danger'; as शङ्के पतिस्यति कुलम् = पिपतिषति कुलम् 'the bank is in imminent danger of falling down'. So also इवा मुमुर्षति.

Vart : There is no affixing of सन् after a verb which has already taken सन् in the sense of wishing. As चिकीर्षितुमिच्छति. But the सन् of III. I. 5, 6 not denoting wishing, we have जुगुप्सिषते, मीमांसिषते.

सुप् आत्मनः क्यच् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुप्, आत्मनः, क्यच्,
(धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषिकर्मण एषितुरेवात्मसंबन्धिनः सुवन्तादिच्छायाप्तये वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्यञ्चि मान्ताव्ययप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि परेच्छायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

This forms the Denominative verbs, i. e., verbs derived from nominal bases. As, पुत्र 'son', पुत्रीयति 'he wishes for a son of his own' (पुत्र + क्यच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय) (II. 4. 71, VII. 4. 33).^१

Why do we use the word सुप्? The affix should not come after a whole sentence, but only after the particular word ending in the case-affix. Thus in महान्तं पुत्रमिच्छति, the affix comes only after पुत्रम् and not महान्तं पुत्रं.

Why do we say *ātmanah*? Observe राज्ञः पुत्रमिच्छति 'he wishes a son for the king'. Here there is no affixing as the wishing is 'for another and not for one's own self.'

The क in क्यच् is for the sake of classing *kyach*, *kyañ* and *kyash* in one common group by simply using the word क्य, as in sūtra तः क्ये I. 4. 15; while च् distinguishes *kyach* from *kyañ* &c., and is not for the sake of accent, the affix will be udātta by III. 1. 3.

Vart :—In affixing *kyach*, prohibition must be stated of pronouns in न्, and of Indeclinables. Thus in इदमिच्छति, उच्चैरिच्छति, there is no affixing.

Vart :—In the Vedas, the affix is added even when the wish is with regard to another. As मा इवा वृका भगवयो विशन्. Here भगव्य (pl. भगव्यः) is

formed by *kyach*, अ being added by III. 2. 170, and आ is added by VII. 4. 37. See Rig Veda I. 120. 7 ; 27. 3 &c.

काम्यच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम्यच्, च, (सुपः, आत्मनः, धातोः, कर्मणः, इच्छायां, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्तात्कर्मण आत्मनेच्छायां काम्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

9. And the affix काम्यच् is also employed, in the sense of wishing, after a word ending in a case-affix, expressing the object wished as connected with the wisher's self.

Thus, पुत्रकाम्यति 'he wishes for a son of his own'.

The making of this a separate sūtra instead of adding it with the last aphorism and making one sūtra of them both, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtra, where the anuvṛitti of *kyach* only runs, and not that of *kāmyach*. The क of *kāmyach* is not indicatory, but is a part of the real affix. Here, therefore, rule I. 3. 8 which would have made the letter क indicatory, does not apply ; because no particular purpose would be served by making indicatory. Or the affix *kāmyach* may be considered to have an indicatory च before it i.e. the affix being *chakāmya*.

उपमानादाचारे ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमानाद्, 'आचारे' (धातोः, कर्मणः, सुपः, वा, क्यच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्मणः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अधिकरणाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

10. The affix क्यच् is optionally employed, in the sense of treatment, after a word ending in a case-affix denoting the object of comparison.

Thus, पुत्रनिवाचरति छात्रं = पुत्रीयति छात्रम् 'he treats the pupil as a son'

Vart : So also in a locative case. 'As प्रासादीयति कुड्ये 'he dwells in hut as if it were a palace'. पर्यङ्गीयति मञ्चके 'in a cot he lies down as if he were on a royal bedstead ; he treats a cot as a royal bedstead'.

कर्तुः क्यङ् 'सलोपश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तुः, क्यङ्, स-लोपः, च, (उपमानाद्, आचारे, सुपः, धातोः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमानात्कर्तुः सुबन्तादाचारेऽर्थे वा क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, सकारस्य च लोपो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आचारेऽवगल्भङ्गीवहोडेभ्यः क्यङ्वा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सर्वप्रातिपदिकेभ्य इत्येके ॥

11. The affix क्यङ् is optionally employed in the sense of behaving, after a word ending in a case-affix, denoting the object of comparison of the agent; and there is elision (lopa)* of the final स of the noun, if it ends with a स.

Thus, इयेनेवाचरति काकः, इयेनायते, 'the crow behaves like a hawk'; अप्सरायते 'she behaves like an Apsara'; पयस्यते or पयायते 'it becomes milk'; (इयेन + य = इयेना + य = इयेनाय, VII. 4. 25).

In the words औजास् — औजायते, and अप्सरस् — अप्सरायते the final स् is invariably elided when forming the denominative verb: but not so in the case of पयस् where the elision is optional, as पयायते or पयस्यते.

The elision of स् refers to the final स् and not when it is followed by any vowel. Thus हंस — हंसायते, सारस — सारसायते; here the स is not elided as it is not final. See. I. 1. 52.

Part:— After the words अवगल्भ, क्लीब, and होइ, the affix क्तिप् is optionally added in the sense of behaving like some one or some thing. As अवगल्भते or अवगल्भायते, क्लीबते or क्लीबायते, होइते or होइायते. The alternative forms are derived by the affixing of क्यन्.

Part:— According to the opinion of some Grammarians, the affix क्तिप् comes optionally in this sense after all crude nouns. As अश्वति or अश्वायते, ईदमति or ईदमायते.

भृशादिभ्यो भुव्यच्चेर्लोपश्च हलः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृश-आदिभ्यः,
भुवि, अच्चेः, लोपः, च, हलः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृश इत्येवमादिभ्यः प्रातिपदिकेभ्योऽच्वन्तेभ्यो भुवि भवत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, हलन्तानां च लोपः ॥

12. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the crude forms भृश and the rest, which do not end with the affix च्वि (V. 4: 58); and there is elision (lopa) of the final consonant of these words, if they end in a consonant.

Thus, अभृशो भृशो भवति = भृशायते 'he becomes 'much (from a little)'; शीघ्रायते 'he becomes swift (from being tardy)'. All these roots will be Atināncpadi (I. 3. 12).

The phrase अच्चेः 'not ending in the adverbial affix च्वि', refers to every one of the words belonging to the class भृशादि. It may be objected, what was the necessity of adding this condition, since the affix च्वि itself denotes that something has become what it was not before; and therefore a word which has

taken the affix च्चि, will not again take क्यङ् in that very sense. The repetition of च्चि here shows that the words भृश, &c. never take the affix च्चि, in the sense of 'something becoming what it was not before'. Thus the present sūtra is an exception to sūtra V. 4. 50 which ordains च्चि.

भृशादिः ।

भृश, शीघ्र, मन्द, क्षपण, पण्डित, उत्सुक, उन्मत्त, अभिमान, सुपत्त, चूर्मन्त, रक्त, रेह, शश्वत्, बहत्, वेहत्, नृपत्, शुधि, अथर, ओजत्, वचस्, (विमत्त, रभत्, रोहत्, हन्, श्चि, अरजत्) ।

लोहितादिडाज्भ्यः क्यष् ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोहित-आदि-
डाज्भ्यः, क्यष्, (भुवि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोहितादिभ्यो डाजन्तेभ्यश्च भवत्यर्थे क्यष् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

13. The affix क्यष् in the sense of becoming what the thing previously was not, is employed after the words लोहित, &c. and after those that end with the affix डाच् (V. 4. 57), when these words do not take the affix च्चि (V. 4. 50).

Thus लोहितायते or लोहितायति 'he becomes red'; पटपटायते or पटपटायति 'he makes a noise like patapata'; (लोहित + य=लोहिता + य=लोहिताय, VII. 4. 25).

The word पटपटायते is formed by adding the affix *dāch* to the word पट which is first reduplicated, and then takes the denominative affix *kyash*. The affix *dāch* is added to express inarticulate sounds.

There is no special class called *lohitādi*. The Vārtika, therefore, proposes that the sūtra should read without the word *ādi*, as लोहितादिभ्यः क्यष्; 'the affix *kyash* comes after *lohitā*, and words ending in *dāch*'.

This rule applies to words other than भृशादि which are always invariably Atmanepadi owing to the डित् affix क्यङ्, while क्यष् is optionally both. (I. 3. 90). Thus वर्मायति or वर्मायते, निद्रायति or निद्रायते, करुणायति or करुणायते, कृपायति or कृपायते. The *lohitādi* is an आकृतगण, the following being some of the words of this class; लोहित, नील, हरित, पीत, मद्ग, केन and मन्द.

The indicative क in क्यष् is not for the sake of prohibiting *guṇa* and *vriddhi* (I. 1. 5). For *guṇa* or *vriddhi* takes place in a *dhātu* followed by a *sārva* *dhātuka* or *ārdhādhātuka* affix. The affix क्यष् is not added to a *dhātu* but to a nominal stem: hence there is no scope for the operation of *guṇa* &c. The क is for the sake of grouping क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् in one class as क्य; as in sūtra नः क्ये (I. 4. 15). There is, however, no word ending in न among those enumerated above.

The affix डाच् (V. 4. 57) comes when the verb following is one of the three अस्, भू, or कृ; as पटपटाकरोति, -भवति, or -स्यात्. The present sūtra teaches by implication that when क्यप् follows डाच्; the above restriction, that the verb should be कृ, भू, or अस्, is not applicable. Here डाच् comes without the addition of कृ, भू, or अस्ति.

The anuvṛtti of अच्वे: comes from the last sūtra; and hence the affix क्यप् is added in the sense of अभूवत्भाव i. e. something becoming that which it was not before.

कष्टाय क्रमणे ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष्टाय, क्रमणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष्टशब्दाच्चतुर्थी समर्थान् क्रमणार्थेऽनार्जवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सत्रकष्टकभक्कृच्छ्रगहनभ्यः कएवचिकीर्षायामिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

14. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of exerting in dishonesty, is employed after the word कष्ट 'mischief', when the latter has the fourth case-affix in construction.

Thus, कष्टाय कर्मणे क्रामति=कष्टायते 'he is assiduous for trouble, i. e. he is assiduous in the commission of dishonesty, or he plots'.

Vart:—The affix क्यङ् comes in the sense of exerting in evil, after the words सत्र, कष्ट, कल, कृच्छ्र and गहन; as, सत्रायते, कष्टायते, कल्लायते, कृच्छ्रायते, and गहनायते.

When the sense is not of 'evil', the affix is not added, as भजः कष्टं त्रामति.

कर्मणो रोमन्यतपोभ्यां वर्त्तिचरोः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणः, रोमन्यत-पोभ्यां, वर्त्ति-चरोः, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोमन्यशब्दात्तपःशब्दाच्च कर्मणो यथाक्रमं वर्त्तिचरोरर्थयोः क्यङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ हनुचलन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तपसः परस्मैपदं च ॥

15. The affix क्यङ् is employed after the words, रोमन्य 'ruminating' and तपस 'austerity', when they are used as the objects of the action of repeating and performing respectively.

Thus, रोमन्यं वर्त्तयति=रोमन्यायते गौ: 'the cow ruminates'.

Vart: This is restricted to the word signifying movements of the jaws. Therefore there is no affixing here; as, कीटो रोमन्यं वर्त्तयति.

Vart: The Prasmapada affixes are used after the word तपस्; as तपश्चरति=तपश्चरति, 'he performs austerity'.

वाष्पोष्मभ्यामुद्गमने ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वाष्प-ऊष्मभ्यां, उद्गमने,
(कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाष्पशब्दावृष्मशब्दाच्च कर्मण उद्गमनेऽर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ केनाच्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

16. The affix क्यङ् is employed in the sense of ejecting, after the words वाष्प 'vapour' and ऊष्म 'heat' as the object of the action.

Thus, वाष्पायते 'it emits vapour'; उष्मायते 'it sends out heat'. So also केनायते 'it ejects froth'.

शब्दवैरकलहाश्रकरवमेघेभ्यः करणे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शब्द-वैर-
कलह-अश्र-करव-मेघेभ्यः, करणे, (क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्द वैर कलह अश्र कण्व मेघ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे करोत्यर्थे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुविनदुर्दिननीहारेभ्यश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अडाद्ग्रीकाकोटापोटासोटाकटाग्रहणं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix क्यङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words, as the object of the action, viz.—शब्द 'sound', वैर 'hostility', कलह 'strife', अश्र 'cloud', कण्व 'sin' and मेघ 'cloud'.

Thus, शब्दं करोति = शब्दायते 'he makes a noise'. So also वैरायते, कलहायते, अश्रायते, कण्वायते, मेघायते ।

Vart:—It should be stated that the affix comes after सुविन, दुर्दिन and नीहार ; as, सुविनायते, दुर्दिनायते, नीहारायते ।

Vart:—So also should be included the words अडा, अडा, ग्रीका, कोटा, पोटा, सोटा and कटा ; as अडायते, अडायते, ग्रीकायते, कोटायते, पोटायते, सोटायते and कटायते ।

The word करण in the sūtra is not the Grammatical *Karana* or the Instrumental case, but has here its primary meaning of 'doing'.

सुखादिभ्यः कर्तृवेदनायाम् ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुख-आदिभ्यः,
कर्तृ-वेदनायाम्, (कर्मणः, क्यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुखइत्येवमैदिभ्यः कर्मभ्यो वेदनायामर्थेऽनुभवे क्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति वेदयितुश्च-
त्कर्त्तुः सम्बन्धीनि सुखादीनि भवन्ति ॥

18. The affix क्यङ् in the sense of feeling, comes

after the words सुख 'pleasure' &c., when the pleasure &c. belong to the agent as feels thereof.

Thus सुखायते 'he feels pleasure' ; दुःखायते 'he feels pain'.

Why do we say 'when the feeling belongs to the agent' ? Observe सुखं वेदयति प्रसाधको देवदत्तस्य 'the valet knows the happiness of his master Devadatta.' Here the agent viz. a valet, is not the percipient of the 'happiness,' which belongs to his master ; hence there is no affixing.

सुखादिः ।

सुख, दुःख, तप्त, गहन, कृच्छ्र, अस्, अलीक, प्रतीप, करुण, कृपण, सोढ ।

नमोवखिवश्चित्रङः क्यच् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नमस्-वरिवस्-
चित्रङः, क्यच् (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नमस् वरिवस् चित्रङ् इत्येतैभ्यो वा क्यच् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे पूजादौ ॥

19. The affix क्यच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz :—
'नमस् 'adoration', वरिवस् 'honor' and चित्र 'wonder'.

Thus नमस्यति देवान्, 'he worships the gods' ; वरिवस्यति गुरुन्, 'he honors or serves the elders' ; चित्रीयते 'he astonishes (makes it wonderful)'. The इ in चित्रङ् indicates that it takes the affixes of the Atmanepada. (चित्र + य = चित्री + ङ (VII. 4. 33) = चित्रीय).

पुच्छभाण्डचीवराण्डिङ् ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पुच्छ-भाण्ड-चीवरात्-
ण्डिङ्, (करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुच्छ भाण्ड चीवर इत्येतैभ्यो ण्डिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति करणविशेषे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पुच्छादुत्सने पर्यसन वा ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाण्डाभ्युत्थयने ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चीवराङ्गन परिधाने वा ॥

20. The affix ण्डिङ्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action, viz :—पुच्छ 'tail', भाण्ड 'pot' and चीवर 'rag'.

Thus उपपुच्छयते 'he lifts up the tail', (the sense must be that of lifting or throwing about); सम्भाण्डायते 'he collects pots in a heap'; संचीवरायते भिक्षुः 'the beggar collects or wears rags'. Of the affix ण्डिङ्, the effective portion is ङ्, the other letters are servile. The ङ indicates Atmanepada (I. 3. 12) and ण serves the purposes of the application of the rule VI. 4. 51 which applies generally to all affixes containing णि, such as णिङ्, णिच् &c.

Varṭ.—After the word पुच्छ the sense of the affix is that of lifting or throwing about.

Vart:—After भाण्ड the sense of the affix is that of accumulation in a heap.

Vart:—After चीवर the sense of the affix is that of acquiring or wear-

मुण्डमिश्रश्लक्ष्णलवणव्रतवस्त्रहलकलकृततस्तृभ्यो णिच् ॥ २१ ॥
पदानि ॥ मुण्ड-मिश्र-श्लक्ष्ण-लवण-व्रत-वस्त्र-हल-कल-कृत-तस्तृभ्यः, णिच्,
(करणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मुण्ड मिश्र श्लक्ष्ण लवण व्रत वस्त्र हल कल कृत तस्तृ इत्येतेभ्यः करणे णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

21. The affix णिच्, in the sense of making, comes after these words as the object of the action viz: मुण्ड 'shaving', मिश्र 'mixture', श्लक्ष्ण 'soft', लवण 'salt', व्रत 'vow', वस्त्र 'dress', हल 'plough', कल 'strife', कृत 'done', and तस्तृ 'matted hair'.

Thus मुण्डयति 'he shaves'; मिश्रयति 'he mixes'; श्लक्ष्णयति 'he softens or alleviates'; लवणयति 'he salts'; पयोव्रतयति 'he fasts on milk'; संवस्त्रयति 'he covers with clothes i. e. dresses'; हलयति 'he ploughs'; कलयति 'he makes war'; कृतयति 'he appreciates kindness'; वित्तस्तयति 'he combs the hair, or disentangles matted hair or delivers from sin'.

The affix after the word व्रत has the sense of 'eating' or 'abstaining therefrom'; as पयो व्रतयति 'he drinks milk,' वृषलान् व्रतयति 'he abstains from the food prepared by a low caste'; after the word वस्त्र the affix denotes the sense of covering. After हल and कल the sense is that of taking; as हलि गृह्णाति = हलयति. The words in the sūtra are हल and कल and not हलि and कलि. This anomalous form shows that in forming the Aorist of these by adding the affix चङ् (III. 1. 48) the reduplication takes place, but not in the same way as if the affix were सन्; i. e. the सन्वद्भाव does not take place here in the Aorist (VII. 4. 93). Thus the Aorists are अजहलत् and अचकलत्; and not अजहलत् and अचकलत्, which would have been the forms by the application of rules VII. 4. 79. & 94. if there was सन्वद्भाव.

The word स्तृत् means either hair, or matted hair, or sin.

धातोरेकाचो हलादेः क्रियासमभिहारे यङ् ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥
धातोः, एक-अचः, हल-अवदेः, क्रिया-समभिहारे, यङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एकञ् यो धातुर्हलादिः क्रियासमभिहारे वर्तते तस्माद्यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, योनः पुंस्, भूतार्थो वा क्रियासमभिहारः ।

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुचिसूचिमूच्यत्यृणोतीतीनां महणं यङ् विभावनेकाजह्लासार्थम् ॥

22. The affix यङ्, in the sense of repetition of the act, comes after a root, having a single vowel and beginning with a consonant.

The phrase *kriyā-samabhihāra* means repetition of the act or its intensity. As पच 'to cook', पपच्यते 'he cooks again and again'; जाज्वल्यते 'he shines with great intensity'. The root must be a simple root, and not compounded with any *upasarga*. We cannot therefore make Intensives of verbs like ग्राह् 'to go', (because the root अट् is preceded by the *upasarga* प्र); or जागृ 'to be awake', (because it contains two vowels); or ईक्ष् 'to see' (because it begins with a vowel).

Var:—The intensive affix यङ् comes after सुचि, सूचि, मूचि, भटि, भर्त्ति, भश and अण्, though some of these contain more than two vowels and others begin with a vowel.

As, सोसूच्यते, सोसूच्यते, मोमूच्यते, अट्ठयते, अरायते, अशायते, and प्रोणोन्मूचते.

The affix is not added in these cases भृगं शोभते or भृगं रोचते, as it is against usage to make Intensive forms of these verbs on the sense of intensity, though in the sense of repetition we have रोहच्यते and शोशुच्यते.

In making the Intensives, the root is reduplicated and it takes the terminations of the Atmanepada as the root is द्वित्.

‘ नित्यं कौटिल्ये गतौ ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यम्, कौटिल्ये, गतौ,

(यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तित्वचनाद्धानोः कौटिल्ये गम्यमाने नित्यं यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix यङ् invariably comes, in the sense of crookedness, after a simple verb expressing motion.

Thus क्रम् 'to move', चक्रम्यते 'he moves crookedly'. So also दन्वम्यते. After a verb of motion, the यङ् never expresses intensity or repetition; so if the latter sense is to be expressed, a phrase must be employed; as भृशं क्रामति 'he wanders much'. This is inferred from the word नित्य used in the sūtra *i. e.* यङ् always has the sense of crookedness and no other sense after a verb of motion.

लुपसदचरजपजभदहदंशगृभ्यो भावगर्हायाम् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥

लुप-सद-चर-जप-जभ-दह-दंश-गृभ्यः, भाव-गर्हायाम्, (यङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लुप सद चर जप जभ दह दंश गृ इत्येतेभ्यो भावगर्हायां धात्वर्थगर्हायां यङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix यङ् when it is intended to convey the sense of contempt (गर्हा) in respect of the sense

of the root (भाक्) comes always after the following roots, viz:—लृप् 'to cut off', सृप् 'to sit', वृप् 'to walk', जृप् 'to mutter silently any sacred formula', जम् 'to gape or yawn', दृप् 'to burn', बृप् 'to bite' and गृप् 'to swallow'.

Thus लोत्तुप्यते 'he cuts off badly'; सासद्यते 'he sits badly'; वृत्तुयते 'he walks badly'; जंजप्यते 'he recites badly'; so also जंजभ्यते, दन्दद्यते, दन्दभ्यते, निजेगित्यते. The affix यङ् does not come in the sense of repetition &c. after the above verbs, but only in the sense of censurable performance of the action denoted by the verbs. Separate words must be used to express the intensive or the frequentative meaning. As भृगं लुम्पति 'he cuts off much'.

Why do we say 'when contempt in regard to the sense of the root is meant'? Observe साधु जपति 'he recites well'. There is no affixing as no contempt is denoted. Why do we say 'in regard to the action denoted by the root'? When the contempt is not with regard to the sense of the root, but with regard to the action as accomplished, the affix is not employed. Thus मन्त्रं जपति वृषलः 'the Sûdra recites the sacred mantras'. The word नित्य of the last aphorism is understood here also.

सत्यापपाशरूपवीणातूलश्लोकसेनालीमत्वचकर्मवर्णचूर्णचुरादिभ्यो
णिच् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्याप-पाश-रूप-वीणा-तूल-श्लोक-सेना-लीम-
त्वच-कर्म-वर्ण-चूर्ण-चुर-आदिभ्यः, णिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्यादिभ्यश्चूर्णपर्यन्तेभ्यश्चुरादिभ्यश्च णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अर्थं वेदसत्यानामापुर्वकव्यः ॥

25. The affix णिच् is employed after these words, viz:—सत्य 'truth' (which then takes the form of सत्याप as exhibited in the sūtra), पाश 'a fetter', रूप 'form', वीणा 'a lute', तूल 'cotton', श्लोक 'celebration', सेना 'an army', लीम 'the hair of the body', त्वच 'the skin', कर्म 'mail', वर्ण 'celebration', चूर्ण 'powder' and the verb of the Churādi class.

Thus सत्यापयति 'he speaks truly'; विपाशयति 'he unfetters or liberates'; रूपयति 'he looks'; उपवीणयति 'he sings with the lute'; अनुतूलयति 'he makes a brush'; उपश्लोकयति 'he praises in verse'; अभिसेणयति 'he advances with the army'; अनुलीमयति 'he rubs over the hair'; त्वचयति 'he feels of the skin'; संवर्मयति 'he puts on the mail armour'; वर्णयति 'he celebrates or colors'; अवचूर्णयति 'he pulverises'. The roots of the Churādi class belong to the tenth conjugation, for a list of which see the Dhātupāṭha. After the verbs of the Churādi class, the affix णिच् is employed without alteration of the sense; as चोरयति 'he steals'. So also चिन्तयति.

Vart:—The words अर्थ, वेद and सत्य take the augment आप् before the affix णिच्; as, सत्यापयति, अर्थापयति, वेदापयति. The whole equation is thus shown अर्थ + आप् + णिच् + शप् + तिप् = अर्थ + आप् + इ + अति = अर्थापि + अति = अर्थापयति (VII. 3. 85). The final syllable called इति is not elided in this case, i.e. of अर्थाप् the syllable आप् is not elided before णिच्, as it would have been by VI. 4. 155. The reason is that if आप् was to be elided, there would have been no necessity of adding it. The affix णिच् has the sense of 'unfettering' after the word पाश, of 'seizing' after रूप, of 'singing in accompaniment' after वीणा, of 'brushing' after नून, of 'praising' after श्लोक, of 'leading' after सेना, of 'rubbing' after लोम, of 'taking' after स्वच्, of 'putting on' after वर्म and of 'taking' after वर्ण.

हेतुमति च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतुमति, च, (धातोः, णिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुः स्वतन्त्रस्य कर्तुः प्रयोजकः तदीयो व्यापारः प्रेषणाद्विन्नक्तणो हेतुमान् तस्मिन्निधये धातेर्णिच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्करोतीत्युपसंख्यानं सूत्रयत्याद्यर्थम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आख्यानान्कृतस्तदाचष्ट इति णिच् कृल्लृक् प्रकृति प्रत्यापत्तिः प्रकृतिवच्चकारकम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाङ्जोपश्च कालात्यन्तसंयोगे मर्याशायाम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्वित्रीकरणे प्रापि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नक्षत्रयोगे ति ॥

26. The affix णिच् is employed after a root, when the operation of a causer is to be expressed.

The *hetu* (I. 4. 55) means the mover of the independent agent; an operation relating to the *hetu*, such as *directing* &c. is called *hetumat*; as कर्तं कारयति 'he causes to prepare a mat'; ओदनं पाचयति 'he makes the rice to be cooked'. In other words, the affix णिच् forms the causative verbs.

Vart:—The affix comes also in the sense of 'he does that' after the words सूत्र &c. Thus सूत्रं करोति = सूत्रयति 'he makes sūtra.' So also मुञ्चयति.

Vart:—After words ending in कृन् affixes and describing legends, comes the affix णिच्, when the sense is 'he does that'. The कृन् affix is elided, the word reassumes its basic (प्राकृतिक) form, and the base is as if the agent, thus कंसवधिमाम्नाष्टे = कंसं घातयति; बलिबन्धमाम्नाष्टे = बलिं बन्धयति; राजागमनमाम्नाष्टे = राजानम् आगमयति.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the last वार्तिक, the upasarga आ is elided, when duration of time is meant expressing limit. Thus आरान्निविवासं आचष्टे = रान्नि विवासयति; here the आ of आरान्नि is elided.

Vart:—Under the conditions mentioned in the second vartika the affix णिच् has the sense of 'making wonderful', meaning 'attaining that'. Thus

उज्जयिन्याः प्रस्थितो माहिष्मत्यां सूर्योद्गमनं सभावयते = सूर्योद्गमयति 'going from Ujjain he finds the sun rise in Mahishmati (wonderful speed)'.

Vart :—When an asterism is in composition and the sense is that of knowing, there comes the affix **णिच्** after a word ending in **कृत्** affix, the **कृत्** affix is elided; the word reassumes its basic form and the base is as if the agent. Thus **पुष्ययोगं जानाति** = **पुष्येण योजयति**. So also **मघाभियोजयति**.

कण्ड्वादिभ्यो यक् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि । कण्डू-आदिभ्यः, (यक्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कण्डूम् इत्येवमादिभ्यो यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix **यक्** is employed after the roots कण्डु 'to itch'; &c.

Thus, **कण्डूयति** or **कण्डूयते** 'he itches or scratches'. This word takes terminations indicatory. The words कण्डु &c. are both roots and nouns, and are placed therefore in a separate list by themselves and are not included in the general list of verbs. The affix applies to these words as roots and not as nouns.

कण्ड्वादिः ।

कण्डूम्, मन्तु, हणीम्, बल्गु, अल्ल, मनस्, महीङ्, लेट्, लोट्, इरस्, इरज्, इरम्, वुवस्, मेधा, कृषुभ, मगध, तन्तस्, पम्पस्, सुख, दुःख, सपर, अर, भिषज्, भिषणज्, इषुध, चरण, चुरण, भुरण, तुरण, गदगद, एजा, केजा, खेजा, लिट् and लोट् ।

गुप्धूपविच्छिपणिपनिभ्यः आयः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि । गुप्-धूप-विच्छि-पणि-पनिभ्यः, आयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुप्-रक्षणे, धूप सन्तापे, विच्छ गतौ, पण व्यवहारे स्तुतौ च, १५५ अ, इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्य आय प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix **आय** comes after **गुप्** 'to protect', **धूप** 'to heat', **विच्छ** 'to approach', **पण** 'to contract or praise' and **पनि** 'to praise'.

Thus **गोपायति** 'he protects'; **धूपायति** 'he heats'; so also, **विच्छायति**, **पणायति**, and **पनायति**.

The verb **पण** being read along with **पन्** 'to praise,' has here the sense of praise only ; so that the affix does not come after the verb **पण्** when it means 'to make a contract' ; as **शतस्य पणते**, **सहस्रस्य पणते**.

• The verbs in **आय** do not take *Atmanepada* affixes, as there is no indicatory letter to show that.

ऋतेरीयङ् ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतेः, ईयङ् ॥

वृत्तिः । ऋतिः सौत्रो धातुर्घृणायां वर्तते तत ईयङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix ईयङ् comes after the sūtra root कृति 'to reproach'.

The indicative इ shows that the verb will take the affixes of the Atmanepada ; as कृतीयते 'he pities or reproaches'; so also, कृतीयाते, कृतीयन्ते.

कमेर्णिङ् ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कमेः, णिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कमेर्धातोर्णिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix णिङ् comes after the root कम 'to desire'.

The ए indicates *vriddhi* (VII. 2. 115) and इ shows Atmanepada ; as, कामयते 'he desires'; so also कामयेते and कामयन्ते.

आयादय आर्द्धधातुके वा ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आय-आदयः, आर्द्ध-धातुके, वा, (प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आर्द्धधातुकविषये आर्द्धधातुकविवक्षायामायादयः प्रत्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

31. The affixes आय and those that follow it, (i.e. आय, ईयङ् and णिङ्) are optionally added, when it is desired to express one's self with an ārdhadhātuka affix.

Thus ता 3rd. sing. of the Future is an ārdhadhātuka affix. It is optional to retain the *āya* of *gopāya* before this affix. So we have गोपायिता or गोपा 'he will protect'. So also अर्तिता or कृतीयिता ; कर्मिता or कामयिता.

But for this sūtra, the affixes आय &c. would have come always even when ārdhadhātuka affixes were to be applied. This makes it optional. Therefore proper ārdhadhātuka affixes should be applied when we retain आय &c. and when we do not retain them. Thus the ārdhadhātuka क्तिन् (III. 3. 95) will be employed in forming the feminine noun from the simple root, but the ārdhadhātuka अ (III. 3. 102) will be employed in forming the feminine when आय &c. are retained. Thus मुक्तिः or गोपाया.

सनाद्यन्ता धातवः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन्-आदि-अन्ताः, धातवः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सनाद्यन्ताः समुदाया धातुसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

32. All the words ending with the affixes सन् and others are called Dhātu.

This extends the sphere of Dhātu or roots already defined in sūtra I. 3. 1. These roots may be called derivative roots. They are separate independent roots, and have all the functions of a root, as taking tense-affixes &c. as shown in the above examples. Thus चिकीर्षा 'to wish to do', कारि 'to

cause to do'; चक्रिय 'to do repeatedly' are separate roots and not the same as कृ 'to do' and thus take ग्रप् &c.

36 स्यतासी लृलुटोः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्य-तासी, लृ-लुटोः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृलृरमुत्सृष्टानुबन्धं सामान्यमेकमेव तस्मिन् लुटि च परतो धातोर्वधासंख्यं स्यतासी प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

33. When लृ and लृद् follow, then स्य and तासि are respectively the affixes of a verbal root.

लृ is the common expression for लृङ् and लृट्, formed by rejecting their special *anubandhas*, and means therefore the 2nd Future and the Conditional tenses. लृद् is the 1st Future also called the Periphrastic Future. Thus करिष्यति अकरिष्यत्, कर्ता. The इ of तासि is indicatory and shows that the nasal of the root is not to be dropped before this; as मन् 'to think', मन्ता 'he will think'.

सिबहुलं लेटि ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्, बहुलम्, लेटि, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः सिप् प्रत्ययो भवति बहुलं लेटि परतः ॥

34. सिप् is diversely the affix of a verbal root when लेट् follows.

The tense called लेट् or subjunctive is found in the Vedas only. When the subjunctive tense is employed, the affix सिप् is diversely added.

Thus जेषिषत्, नरिषिषत्, मन्दिषत्. Sometimes this augment is not employed; thus पताति विद्युत् उदधि ज्यावयाति. Thus in Rig Veda I. 1. 2, वज्रति is an example of लेट् with सिप् ॥

कास्प्रत्ययादाममन्त्रे लिटि ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कास्-प्रत्ययाद्, आम्, अमन्त्रे, लिटि, (प्रत्ययः, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कास् शब्दं कुस्तायां, ततः प्रत्ययान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्य आम् प्रत्ययो भवति लिटि परतोऽमन्त्रविषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कास्यनेकाच्च इति वक्तव्यम् चुल्लुम्पाद्यर्थम् ॥

35: आम् is the affix of the verb कास् 'to cough', and of those roots that are formed by affixes (i. e. the derivative verbs), when लिट् follows, except in the Mantra.

This forms the Periphrastic Perfect. The Perfect of कास् will be कासाम्, after which the terminations of the Perfect are all elided (II. 4. 81) and instead, the 'perfect tense of the auxiliary verb भू or अस् or कृ is added. As कास्ताञ्चक्रे 'he coughed'; चोरयामास 'he stole'. So also लोजूयाञ्चक्रे.

This rule however does not apply to the Vēdas; as कृष्णो नोनाव Rig. Veda. I. 79. 2.

Vart:—This rule also applies where the root is polysyllabic consisting of more than one vowel; as चक्षुष्पाञ्चकार, हरिद्राञ्चार ॥

The final म् of आम् is not indicatory.

इजादेश्च गुरुमतोऽनृच्छः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्-आदेः, च, गुरुमतः, अनृच्छः, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इजाद्विधो धातुर्गुरुमान् ऋच्छतिवर्जितस्तस्माच्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ ऊर्णोतिश्च प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

36. The affix आम् is used when लिट् follows, after a root beginning with a letter of इच् pratyâhâra and having a heavy vowel, excepting the root ऋच्छ 'to go'.

Thus ईह 'to try', ईहांचक्रे 'he tried'; so also ऊहाञ्चक्रे 'he guessed', एधाञ्चक्रे 'he grieved'.

But ऋच्छ forms आनृच्छ 'he failed or went'. This applies to monosyllabic roots which begin with any vowel prosodially long, except अ or आ. The verb ऊर्ण 'to cover' is, however, an exception; its perfect is ऊर्णनाव 'he covered'.

Why do we say 'beginning with इच् or any vowel except अ or आ'? Observe अहं, Perfect आनहं (VII. 4. 71). Why do we say 'heavy vowel'? Observe उख, Perf. उवोख (VI. 4. 78) ऊखतुः, ऊखुः. Why do we say 'vowel'? Observe कुरु, Perf. चुकुरु; पूव, Perf. सुपूव.

दयायासश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ दय-अय-आसः, च, (लिटि, आम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इय दानगतिरक्षणे, अय गतौ, आस उपवेशने, एतेभ्यश्च लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. After the verbs दय 'to give', 'to go' and 'to protect', अय 'to go', and आस 'to sit', there is the affix आम्, when लिट् follows.

Thus दयाञ्चक्रे 'he gave'; पलायाञ्चक्रे 'he ran away'; आसाञ्चक्रे 'he sat'.

उषविद्जागृभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उष-विद्-जागृभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (आम्, प्रत्ययः, लिटि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उष दाहे, विद् ज्ञाने, जागृ निद्राक्षये, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतोऽन्यतरस्यानाम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix आम् is optionally employed after these, viz.:—उष् 'to burn', विद् 'to know', and जागृ 'to wake', when लिट् follows.

Thus ओषाञ्चकार or उवोष, विषाञ्चकार or विवेष्ट, जागराञ्चकार or जजागार. As there is an agreement in the present instance to regard the verb विष्ट as ending in a short अ, *guna* is not substituted, as it would otherwise have been by rule VII. 3. 86.

भीहीभृहुवां श्लुवच्च ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ भी-ही-भृ-हुवां, श्लुवत्, च, (आम्, लिटि, अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिभी भये, ही लज्जायाम्, डुभृच् धारणपोषणयोः, हुवानाहानयोः, एतेभ्यो लिटि परतः आम्प्रत्ययौ भवत्यन्यतरस्याम्, श्लुविच् चास्मिन्कार्यं भवति ॥ ३९ ॥

39. आम् is optionally affixed, when लिट् follows, after these verbs भी 'to fear', ही 'to be ashamed', भृ 'to nourish', हु 'to sacrifice'; and when आम् is affixed, the effect is as if there were श्लु elision and the roots belonged to IIvâdi class.

The effect of श्लु is to cause reduplication by rule VI. 1. 10. As विभयाञ्चकार or विभाय, जिहयाञ्चकार or जिहाय, बिभराञ्चकार or बिभार, जुहवाञ्चकार or जुहाव.

॥ ४० ॥ कञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि, ॥ कञ्, च, अनुप्रयुज्यते, लिटि ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ आम्प्रत्ययस्य पश्चात्कृञ्नुप्रयुज्यते लिटि परतः, कृञिति प्रत्याहारेण, कृञ्वस्तयो गृह्यन्त तत्सामर्थ्यादस्तेभूभावो न भवति ॥

40. After a verb which ends with आम्, the verb कृ 'to do' is annexed, when लिट् follows.

After the above verbs formed by taking the augment आम् the perfect tense of कृ is added to form their Perfect. This has already been illustrated in the above examples. The word कृ includes also the verbs भू and अस्. All these three may be used as auxiliaries. The verb अस् when used as an auxiliary, is not replaced by भू (III. 4. 52) before the लिट् affixes which are ārdhadhâtuka affixes. Thus पाचयाञ्चकार, पाचयाम्बभूव, पाचयामास.

विदाङ्कुर्वन्तिवत्यन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु, इति, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदीकुर्वन्तिवत्येतदन्यतरस्याम् निपात्यते ॥

41. The form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु is optionally employed as an irregular form.

This irregular form is obtained by adding the affix आम् to the root विष्ट 'to know,' when followed by लोट् or the Imperative tense; the tense-affixes of लोट् are then elided by *luh*; moreover there is no substitution of *guna*.

as required by VII. 3. 86; and when we have thus obtained the form विदाम्, we annex to it the लोट् of the verb कृ; thus we have विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु or विदन्तु 'let them know'. The third person plural is not only intended to be spoken of by the employment of the form विदाङ्कुर्वन्तु in the aphorism; on the contrary, the word इति shows that all the numbers and persons of the Imperative may be so employed; as विदाङ्कुरुतु विदाङ्कुरुताम् &c.

**अभ्युत्साद्यां प्रजनयां चिक्रयां रमयामकः पावयां क्रियाद्विदाम-
क्रन्निति छन्दसि ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभ्युत्साद्याम्-प्रजनयाम्-चिक्रयाम्-
रमयामकः, पावयां क्रियाद्-विदामक्रन्, इति, छन्दसि, (अन्यतरस्याम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ अभ्युत्साद्यामित्येवमादयः छन्दसि विषये अन्यतरस्यां निपात्यन्ते ॥

42. The forms अभ्युत्साद्यामकः प्रजनयामकः चिक्रयामकः रमया-
मकः पावयां क्रियाद् विदामक्रन् are irregularly formed in the Chhandas.

The first two of these and the fourth are the Aorists (लुङ्) of the causatives of the roots सद् 'to sit', जन् 'to be born', and रम् 'to sport': to which the affix आम् is added. The third is the Aorist of the root चि 'to collect', to which आम् has been added after the reduplication and the change of च into क of the root. The auxiliary अकः is added to all these four. The fifth is derived from the root पू 'to blow, to purify', by adding the causative affix णिच्, annexing the affix आम् before the terminations of the Potential (लृङ्) and then using after the form so obtained, the auxiliary क्रियात्. The last is the Aorist of विद् 'to know', to which आम् is added and the auxiliary अकन् is employed. These are the archaic forms; their modern forms are as follow:—
अभ्युदसीपदत्, प्राजीजनत्, अचैषीत्, अरीरमत्, पाव्यात्, अवेदिषुः ।

११. च्लि लुङि ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लि, लुङि, (धातोः, प्रत्ययः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः च्लि प्रत्ययो भवति लुङि परतः ॥

43. When लुङ् follows, the affix च्लि is added to the verbal root.

The इ of च्लि is for the sake of articulation, the च is for the sake of accent (VI. 1, 162.) showing that an affix which has an indicator च has *udatta* on its final. Then remains only लि, which after all, is to be replaced by other affixes, as we shall show below. In fact च्लि is the common name for all Aorist affixes.

च्लेः सिच् ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ च्लेः, सिच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ च्लेः सिजादेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ स्युशमृशकृपदपदपां सिञ्चा वक्तव्यः ॥

72 44. Of चिन्, सिच् is the substitute.

The इ of सिच् is for the sake of pronunciation, the च is for accent, and the real affix is स्; as अकार्षीत् 'he did'. When सिच् is added, the terminations of the Aorist assume the following forms.

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>				<i>Atmanepada.</i>		
	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st pers.	सं	स्व	स्म	सि	स्वहि	स्महि
2nd pers.	सीः	स्वन्, तं	स्त, त	स्थाः, याः	साथां	ध्वं
3rd pers.	सीत्	स्तां, तां	स्तः	स्त, त	सातां	सन्त

The substitution of सिच् is optional in the Aorist of the roots स्पर्श 'to touch', मृश् 'to rub', कृष् 'to plough', हृष् 'to become satisfied', and हृष् 'to light'. Thus the Aorist of स्पर्श has three forms; अस्पर्शत्, अस्पर्शात् or अस्पृक्षत्. Similarly मृश् has अमृक्षत्, अमृक्षात् or अमृक्षत्; कृष्, अकृषात्, अकृषात् or अकृषत्; हृष्, अहृषात्, अहृषात्, or अहृषत्; हृष्, अहृषात्, अहृषात् or अहृषत्.

शल इगुपधादनिटः कसः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शलः, इग्-उपधात्, अनिटः, कसः, (च्लेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शलन्तो यो धातुरिगुपधस्तस्मात् परस्य च्लेरनिटः, कस आदेशो भवति ॥

45. After a verb that ends in a शल consonant, and has an इक् vowel for its penultimate letter, and does not take इट् (VII. 2. 10), कस is the substitute of चिन्.

The forms of the terminations of the Aorist with कस are as follow:

<i>Parasmaipada.</i>			<i>Atmanepada.</i>			
	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>	<i>sing.</i>	<i>dual</i>	<i>plural</i>
1st pers.	सं	साव	साम्	सि	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd pers.	सः	सन्	सन्	स्थाः, याः	साथाम्	सध्वम्, ध्वम्
3rd pers.	सत्	सातां	सन्	सत्, त	सातां	सन्त

As, मृग् and कृष् in the last sūtra have their Aorist with कस as अमृक्षत् and अकृषत्; so दुह 'to milk' forms अधृक्षत् 'he milked', लिह 'to lick' अलिक्षत्.

Why do we say 'when ending in श, ष, स and ह'? Observe अश्वसीत्, अच्छैसीत्; here सिच् is employed. Why do we say 'having for its penultimate इ, उ, ऋ or ॠ'? Observe अधाक्षत्. Why do we say 'not having an intermediate इ'? Observe अक्रीषीत् and अलोषीत्. See VII. 2. 4 and VIII. 2. 28.

श्लिष आलिङ्गने ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्लिषः, आलिङ्गने, (च्लेः, वसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्लिषेधातोराभिज्ञानक्रियावचनात् परस्य च्लेः कस आदेशो भवति ॥

46. कस is the substitute of चिन् after the verb श्लिष, when it is employed in the sense of embracing.

This is a restrictive aphorism. As आश्लिषत् कन्याम् 'he embraced the girl'. But समाश्लिषज्जतुकाष्टम् 'the glue joined the wood'.

न दृशः ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दृशः, (दलेः, वसः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशोर्धातोः परस्य च्लेः क्सादेशो न भवति ॥

47. वस is not the substitute of च्छि after the verb दृश् 'to see'.

This is an exception to the sūtra III. 1. 45. enjoining क्स्. The root दृश् will form its Aorists by III. 1. 57. and will take अङ् and सिच्; as अदर्शत् or अद्राक्षत् 'he saw'.

शिञ्जिदुस्तुभ्यः कर्त्तरि चङ् ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-ञ्जि-दु-स्तुभ्यः, कर्त्तरि, चङ्, (दलेः, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः शिञ्जिदुस्तुभ्येतेभ्यश्च परस्य च्लेश्चङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कमेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

48. After a root which ends in णि (III. 1. 20, 21, 44, &c.) and after the verb शि 'to serve', द्र 'to run', and लृ 'to drop', चङ् is the substitute of च्छि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

The चङ् prevents *guna* and *vriddhi* and च is to distinguish it from अङ्. When चङ् is added, there is reduplication (VI. 1. 11). The usual terminations of the Imperfect are employed after the root, when चङ् is used; as अचीकरत् 'he caused to make'; अशिञ्जयत् 'he served or went'; अदुद्रवत् 'he ran'; असुलुवत् 'it flowed'. This form is not used in Passive; as, अकारयिषाताम्.

The root कम् 'to love' should also be included in this rule. कम्, when it takes the affix णिङ् (III. 1. 30) will of course be included in this sūtra, by virtue of its ending in णि; the *Vārtika* makes the additional statement that even when the root कम् does not take the affix णिङ्, the present aphorism must apply to it. Thus we have अकमत् 'he loved'; when it takes णिङ्, the Aorist will be अचीकमत् (VII. 4. 93, 79, 94).

विभाषा धेट् श्योः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धेट्-श्योः,

(दलेः, चङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धेट् धाने, दुओश्च गतिद्वयोः, एताभ्यामुत्तरस्य च्लेश्चिभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

49. After the roots धे 'to suck', and श्व 'to grow', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्छि, when लुङ् follows signifying an agent.

As, अश्वत्, 'he sucked'. When it takes the alternative सिच्, then rule II. 4. 78. comes into operation, and we have अशत् and अशसीत् 'he sucked'. So also of शिव, we have अशिवयत्, 'he grew'. It also takes the अङ्, (III. 1. 58) and then its form is अश्वत् or अश्वयीत्.

गुपेच्छन्दसि ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ गुपेः, छन्दसि, (च्लेः, चङ्, विभाषा, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गुपेः परस्य च्लेच्छन्दसि विषये विभाषा चङादेशो भवति ॥

50. After the verb गुप् 'to protect', चङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

This rule applies where the root गुप् does not take the affix आय (II. 1. 28). As इमान् नो मित्रावरुणौ यत्, गृहान् अजुगुपतम् 'Mitra Varuna protected these our houses'. The other forms are अगोप्यत्, अगोपिष्यत् or अगोपायिष्यत्. In the secular literature, the latter three forms are used, but not the first.

नोनयतिध्वनयत्येलयत्यर्दयतिभ्यः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, ऊनयति-ध्वनयति-एलयति-अर्दयतिभ्यः, (च्लेः, चङि, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊन परिहाणे, ध्वन शब्दे, इल प्रेरणे, अर्द गती याचने च, एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो ण्यन्तेभ्यः पूर्वेण च्लेश्चङि प्राप्तं छन्दसि विषये न भवति ॥

51. After the causatives of the verbs ऊन 'to decrease', ध्वन 'to sound', इल 'to send', and अर्द 'to go or to beg', चङ् is not the substitute of च्लि in the Chhandas.

Thus we have ऊनयीः in the Vedas ; औनित् in the classical literature ; so also ध्वनयीत्, ऐलयीः and अर्दयीत् ; their classical forms being आर्दध्वनत्, ऐलित्, and आर्दित्. See Rig Veda I. 53, 3, I. 162. 15. and Pāṇini VII 2, 5.

अस्यतिवक्तिख्यातिभ्योऽङ् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-वक्ति-ख्यातिभ्यो, अङ्, (च्लेः, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असु क्षेपणे, वक् परिभाषणे, मूत्रादेशो वा, ख्या प्रकथने, वक्तिङादेशो वा, एभ्यः परस्य च्लेङादेशो भवति कर्त्तृवाचिनि लुङि परतः ॥

52. After the verbs अस् 'to throw', वच् 'to speak', and ख्या 'to speak', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

वच् may be either the root, or the substitute of मू (II. 4. 53) and so also ख्या may be the root, or the substitute of चक्ष् (II. 4. 54). The root अस् belonging to the दिवादि or the Fourth conjugation, falls under the subdivision पुषादि, and therefore it would have taken अङ् in the Parasmaipāda

by rule III. I. 55. The repetition is to indicate that it takes अङ् in the Atamanepada also; as पर्यायत (VII. 4. 17), अवीचत् and आख्यत्. In the Passive, we have पर्यासिषाताम्.

लिपिसिचिह्वश्च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिपि-सिचि-ह्वः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्, कर्त्तरि, लुङि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप उपदेहे, सिचि जरणे. ह्वं स्वर्द्धया एतेभ्यश्च परस्य, च्लेरडादेशो भवति ॥

53. After the verbs लिप् 'to paint', सिच् 'to sprinkle' and ह्वे 'to call', अङ् is the substitute of च्लि when लुङ् follows signifying the agent.

Thus अलिपन् 'he painted or wrote'; असिचत् 'he sprinkled'; and आहून् 'he called or challenged'.

आत्मनेपदेष्वन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्मनेपदेषु, अन्यतरस्याम्, (च्लेः, अङ्, लिपि, सिचि, ह्वः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिपिसिचिह्व आत्मनेपदेषु परतः च्लेरडादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

54. After the verbs लिप्, सिच् and ह्वे, अङ् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when the affixes of the Atmanepada follow.

Thus अलिपन् or अलिपन्त 'he painted'; असिचत् or असिक्त 'he sprinkled'; आहूत् or अह्रास्त 'he challenged'.

पुषादिद्युताद्यलृदितः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुषादि-द्युतादि-लृद्-इतः, परस्मैपदेषु, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषादिभ्यो द्युतादिभ्यः लृदिभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः परस्य च्लेः परस्मैपदेषु परतो अडादेशो भवति ॥

55. अङ् is the substitute of च्लि, after the verbs पुष् 'to nourish', and the rest, द्युत् 'to shine', and the rest, and the verbs having an indicatory लृ, when the affixes of the Parasmaipada follow.

The verbs classed as पुषादि, are a sub-division of the 4th conjugational verbs; and द्युतादि verbs belong to the 1st conjugation. As पुष्, अपुषत् 'he nourished'; द्युत्, अद्युतत् 'he shone'; गच्छ्, अगमत् 'he went'. But not so in the Atmanepada; as व्यद्योतिष्ट, अज्योतिष्ट.

सर्त्तिशास्त्यर्त्तिभ्यश्च ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्त्ति-शास्ति-अर्त्तिभ्यः, च, (च्लेः, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्र गतौ, शासु अनुशिष्टौ, कृ गतौ, इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेरडादेशो भवति ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ मृ रुहृ इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेः छन्वसि विषये ऽङ्कारदेशो भवति ॥

59. After the verbs कृ 'to do', मृ 'to die', रु 'to tear', and रुहृ 'to rise', भङ् is the substitute of च्लि when used in the Chhandas.

Thus अकरत् 'he did'; अमरत् 'he died'; अरुत् 'he tore'; आरुहत् 'he rose'. See Rig Vēda X. 85. 17, X. 44. 6. The classical Aorist of these verbs are अकार्षीत्, अमृत, अरारीत्, and अरुहत्.

चिण् ते पदः ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, ते, पदः, (छे :) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पद् गतो भस्माद्धातोः परस्य च्लेश्चिण्देशो भवति तद्गच्छे परतः ॥

60. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि after the verb पद् 'to go', when the affix त follows.

The affix त here means the third person singular tense-affix of the Atmanepada; as अपाति 'he went'; but not so in the dual and plural; as अपसाताम् 'they two went'; अपत्सत् 'they went'; भद् + पद् + चिण् + त = अ + पाद् + इ = अपाति (the affix त being elided by rule VI. 4. 104).

दीपजनबुधपूरितायिप्यायिभ्योऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥

दीप-जन-बुध-पूरि-तायि-प्यायिभ्यः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (छेः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दीप जन बुध पूरि तायि प्यायि एतेभ्यः परस्य च्लेस्तद्गच्छे परतोऽन्यतरस्यां चिण्देशो भवति ॥

61. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि, when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after the verbs दीप् 'to shine', जन् 'to be produced', बुध् 'to teach or know', पूर 'to be full', ताय 'to extend or protect' and प्याय 'to smell'. ॥

Thus अदीपि or अदीपिट 'he shone'; अजनि or अजनिट 'he was produced'; अबोधि or अबुद्ध 'he knew'; अपूरि or अपूरिट 'he was full'; अतायि or अतायिट 'he extended'; अप्यायि or अप्यायिट 'he grew'.

अचः कर्मकर्त्तरि ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अचः, कर्म-कर्त्तरि, (छेः, ते, चिण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजन्ताद्धातोः परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि तद्गच्छे परतश्चिण्देशो भवति ॥

62. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि when त, the third person singular of the Atmanepada follows, after a root which ends with a vowel, and when the object itself is spoken of as the agent.

A reflexive verb is one in which the object is spoken of as the agent. In reflexive verbs therefore, चिण् is employed after roots ending in

vowels ; as भकारि कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat became made of itself. This is an optional rule (प्राप्तविभाषा). Therefore we have also भकृत कटः स्वयमेव ; similarly भलावि or भलविष्ट केशरः स्वयमेव 'the embankment broke of itself.

But in verbs other than those that end in vowels, i. e. in those which end with a consonant, the चिण् is obligatory in the reflexive voice, and not optional ; as अभेदि काष्ठम् स्वयमेव 'the wood split of itself'. So also in verbs other than reflexives ; as भकारि कटो रेवत्तेन.

दुहश्च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दुहः, च, (च्लेः, चिण्, अन्यतरस्याम्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ बुह प्रपूरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो भवति अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

63. चिण् is optionally the substitute of च्लि after the verb दुह 'to milk', when it is used reflexively, and when त follows.

Thus अरोहि or अरुग्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow milked of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, the चिण् is compulsory, e. g. अरोहि गौर्गोपालकेन 'the cow was milked by the cowherd'.

न रुधः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, रुधः, (च्लेः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुधिर् आवरणे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेः कर्मकर्त्तरि चिणादेशो न भवति ॥

64. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि, after the verb रुध 'to obstruct', when used in the reflexive sense in the third person singular of the Atmanepada.

Thus अन्ववारुद्ध गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow was obstructed of itself'. In verbs other than reflexive, चिण् is employed, e. g. अन्ववारोधि गौर्गोपालकेन.

तपोऽनुतापे च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, अनुतापे, च, (न, ह्येः, चिण्, कर्म-कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप संतापे, अस्मात्परस्य च्लेश्चिणादेशो न भवति कर्मकर्त्तरि अनुतापे च ॥

65. चिण् is not the substitute of च्लि after the verb तप् 'to suffer', when used reflexively, and when the sense is that of experiencing remorse.

This prohibition applies even to the passive and impersonal voices of the verb तप् ; as अतप्त तपस्तापसः 'the ascetic performed austerity' ; अन्वतप्त एमेन कर्मणा 'he repented from evil deeds'.

चिण् भावकर्मयोः ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिण्, भाव-कर्मयोः, (ह्येः, चिण्, ते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः परस्य च्लेञ्चिशादेशो भवति भावे कर्मणि लशब्दे परतः ॥

66. चिण् is the substitute of च्लि when त of the third person singular Atmanepada follows, denoting the action (भाव) or the object कर्म.

A verb is said to denote an action when it is used impersonally ; and it is said to denote an object when used in the Passive sense. As अग्राणि भवता 'it was lain by you i.e. you lay'; अकारि कटो देवदत्तेन 'the mat was made by Devadatta'. The repetition of चिण् here is for the sake of distinctness.

सार्वधातुके यक् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सार्वधातुके, यक्, (भाव-कर्मणोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावकर्मवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोर्यक् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix यक् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक (III. 4. 113) follows, denoting the action or the object.

In forming Impersonal and Passive verbs, this affix is employed in the conjugational tenses. Thus in Impersonal verbs आस्यते भवता 'you sit', शय्यते भवता 'you lie'. So in passive verbs ; as क्रियते कटः and गम्यते यामः. The क of यक् is servile, and prevents guna and vridhhi. This affix is also used in reflective voice (कर्मकर्त्तरि); as क्रियते कटः स्वयमेव 'the mat becomes made of itself'.

कर्त्तरि शप् ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, शप्, (सार्वधातुके, धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि सार्वधातुके परतो धातोः शप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix शप् comes after a root, when a सार्वधातुक follows, signifying the agent.

In active voice, शप् is employed in the conjugational tenses. This affix, which is technically called a विकरण comes after roots of the भृ class and after compound roots formed by सन् &c. (III. 1. 32). The indicatory च makes it a सार्वधातुक affix by III. 4. 113, the प् indicates that the vowel has *anudatta* accent (III. 1. 4). As भृ-प् शप्+तिप्=भू+अ+ति=भो+अ+ति=भवति. (VII. 3. 84). So also पचति.

दिवादिभ्यः श्यन् ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दिव्-आदिभ्यः, श्यन्, (सार्वधातुके, कर्त्तरि,) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दिव् इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix श्यन् comes after a root of the Di-
vadi class, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows.

This debars शप्. The servile न of श्यन् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 197), showing that the *udatta* accent falls on the radical verb and not on the affix ; and the indicatory श makes the affix sârvadhâtuka ; as दिव्+श्यन्, +

तिप् = शीष् + ञ + ति (VII. २. 77) = शीष्यति; so also सीष्यति. The *Divādi* verbs belong to the Fourth conjugation.

वा भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्रमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, भ्राश-भ्लाश-भ्रमु-क्रमु-क्रमु-त्रसि-त्रुटि-लषः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि, श्यन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भ्राश भ्लाश भ्रमु क्रमु क्रमु व्रसि व्रुटि लष एतेभ्यो वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

70. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed in the active voice after the following verbs; भ्राश् 'to shine', भ्लाश् 'to shine', भ्रम् 'to whirl', क्रम् 'to walk', क्रम् 'to be sad', व्रस् 'to fear', व्रुट् 'to cut', and लष् 'to desire'.

Thus भ्राशते or भ्राश्यते 'he shines'; भ्लाशते or भ्लाश्यते 'he shines'; भ्रमति or भ्राम्यति 'he whirls'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he walks'; क्रामति or क्राम्यति 'he is sad'. So also व्रस्यति or व्रसति; व्रुट्यति or व्रुटति; लष्यति or लषति.

यसोऽनुपसर्गात् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यसः, अनुपसर्गात्, (श्यन्, वा, सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यशोऽनुपसर्गाद्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the verb यस् 'to strive', when it is employed, without a preposition, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus यास्यति or यसति 'he strives'. But no option is allowed in आस्यस्यति, प्रस्यस्यति. The root यस् belongs to the *Divādi* class.

संयसञ्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सं-यसः, च, (श्यन्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वाच्च यसेर्वा श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix श्यन् is optionally employed after the root यस् 'to strive', when it is preceded by the preposition सन्, and when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus संयस्यति or संयसति 'he strives'.

स्वादिभ्यः श्नुः ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-आदिभ्यः, श्नुः, (सार्वधातुके, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुम् अभिषवे इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः श्नुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

73. The affix श्नु comes after the roots of Svādi class when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent

This debars शप्. As सु+शु+तिप् = सु+नु+ति=सुनोति 'he presses out'. These are roots of the Fifth class.

श्रुवः शृ च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रुवः, शृ, च, (शुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रुवः शुप्रत्ययो भवति तत्संनियोगेन श्रुवः शृ इत्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

74. And शृ is the substitute of श्रु, and there is the affix शु after it, when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus श्रु+शु+तिप् = शृ+नु+ति = शृणोति 'he hears' ; शृणुतः 'they two hear'.

अक्षोऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षः, अन्यतरस्याम्, (शुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अक्ष् व्याप्तौ भोवादिः अस्मादन्यतरस्यां शुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

75. The affix शु is optionally employed after the root अक्ष 'to pervade', when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus अक्षोति or अक्षति 'he pervades or obtains'.

तनूकरणे तक्षः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तनू-करणे-तक्षः, (अन्यतरस्यां, शुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तक्ष् त्रक्ष् तनुकरणे, अस्मात्तनूकरणे वर्त्तमानादन्यतरस्यां शु प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

76. The affix शु is optionally employed after the root तक्ष 'to bore or hew' when a sârvadhâtuka affix denoting an agent, follows.

Thus तक्षति or तक्षोति काष्ठं 'he hews the wood'. But संतक्षति वाग्भिः 'he cuts with speech'.

तुदादिभ्यः शः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुद-आदिभ्यः, शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुद व्यथते, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

77. The affix श is employed after the roots of the Tudâdi class, in denoting the agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory श makes this affix a sârvadhâtuka affix. As तुद+श+ति = तुद+अ+ति = तुर्जति (I. 2. 4) 'he pains or torments'.

रुधादिभ्यः श्नम् ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रुध-आदिभ्यः, श्नम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुध् आगच्छे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो श्नम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

78. The affix श्नम् comes after the roots of the Rudhâdi class, in denoting an agent when a sârvadhâtuka affix follows.

This debars शप्. The indicatory न् of the affix इनम् shows that the affix न is to be placed after the last vowel of the root; see Sûtra I. 1. 47. As रुध् + इनम् + ति = रुध् + न + ति = रु + न् + ध् + ति = रुणद्धि 'he obstructs'. So also भिनत्ति 'he splits'. The indicatory श is for the sake of sūtra VI. 4. 23.

तनादिरुज्झ्य उः ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तन-आदि-रुज्झ्यः, उः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तनु विस्तारे, इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कृञ्च उपत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix उ comes after the roots of the Tanâdi class and after the verb कृ 'to make' when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows, signifying the agent.

This debars शप्. As तन् + उ + ति = तनोति 'he expands'; कृ + उ + ति = करोति 'he makes'. Though the root कृ is included in the list of the Tanâdi verbs, for which see Dhâtupâtha, yet its separate enunciation in the present sūtra is for the sake of making a restrictive rule with regard to this verb; that is to say, the root कृ is a Tanâdi root only for the purposes of taking the affix उ; all the other operations of Tanâdi verbs are not to be performed upon it. Thus the rule II. 4. 79. does not apply to कृ. Thus भकृत and भकृत्या; the सिच् elision being compulsory and not optional.

धिन्विरुख्योर च ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ धिन्वि-रुख्योः, अ, च,

(उः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिवि धिवि जिवि श्रीणनाथोः कृवि हिंसाकरणयोः इत्येतयोर्धात्वोरुपत्ययो भवत्यकारश्चान्तरेशः ॥

80. The affix उ comes after the roots धिन्वि 'to please', and कृषि 'to hurt', when a sârva-dhâtuka affix denoting the agent follows; and in these verbs अ is the substitute of the final इ.

The root धिन्व or धिन्वि belongs to the Bhuâdi class. Thus धिन्व + उ + ति = धिन् + अ + उ + ति = धिन् + उ + ति (VI. 4. 48) = धिनोति 'he pleases'. It might be asked, why, there is no *guna* of the इ of धिन् by rule VII. 3. 86 which requires the base to be *gunated* before a sârva-dhâtuka or an ârdha-dhâtuka affix. The answer is to be found in sūtra I. 1. 57; the substitute of अ which is a blank, is like the former occupant (*sthānivat*), and thus prevents *guna*.

क्रयादिभ्यः शना ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्री-आदिभ्यः, शना ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इक्रीम् द्रव्यविनिमये इत्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः शनाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix शना comes after the roots of the Kryâdi class when a sârva-dhâtuka affix follows denoting the agent.

This debars शप्. As क्री + श्ना + तिप् = क्रीणाति 'he buys'. So also प्रीणाति 'he pleases'.

स्तम्भ-स्तम्भ-स्कम्भ-स्कुम्भ-स्कुम्भ्यः श्नुश्च ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥
स्तम्भ-स्तम्भ-स्कम्भ-स्कुम्भ-स्कुम्भ्यः, श्नुः, च, (श्ना) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्भ स्तम्भ स्कम्भ स्कुम्भ स्कुम् एतेभ्यः श्नाप्रत्ययो भवति श्नुश्च ॥

82 And there is the affix श्ना after स्तम्भ, स्कुम्भ, स्कुम्भ or स्कुम्भ 'to hinder', 'to be dull or insensible', 'to support', and स्कु 'to go by leaps', as well as the affix श्नु, when a sârvaadhâtuka affix follows, in denoting the agent.

As स्तम्भ्नाति or स्तम्भ्नाति, स्तुम्भ्नाति or स्तुम्भ्नाति, स्कम्भ्नाति or स्कम्भ्नाति, स्कुम्भ्नाति or स्कुम्भ्नाति, स्कुम्भ्नाति or स्कुम्भ्नाति. The first four of these roots are not found in the Dhâtupâtha and are to be found in the sûtras, and hence called Sâutra roots.

हलः श्नः शानश्च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, श्नः, शानच्-हौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हल उत्तरस्य श्नाप्रत्ययस्य शानच्चादेशो भवति हौ परतः ॥

83. The affix शानच् is the substitute of श्ना after a root ending with a consonant, when हि follows.

The affix हि is the 2nd person singular of लोट् or the Imperative mood. Thus पुषाण 'do thou nourish', गृहाण 'do thou take', from roots पुष् and ग्रह which end with consonants. But we have क्रीणीहि 'do thou buy'; here there is no substitution of शानच्, because the root ends with a vowel. The repetition of श्ना in the sâtra shows that शानच् is a mere substitute and not an independent affix.

छन्दसि शायजपि ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, शायच्, अपि,
(हलः, श्नः, शानच्, हौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये श्नः शायच्चादेशो भवति शानजपि ॥

84. In the Chhandas, शायच् is also the substitute of श्ना after roots ending in consonants, when हि follows.

Thus गृभाय जिह्या मधु, (Rig Veda VIII. 17. 5.) The affix शानच् is also employed; as बध्नाय पशून् 'kill the beasts'.

अत्ययो बहुलम् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अत्ययः, बहुलम्, (छन्दसि,
श्वाद्यः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथायथं विकरणाः श्वाद्यो विहितास्तेषां छन्दसि विषये बहुलं व्यवहारो भवति ॥

85. In the Chhandas there is diversely an interchange of the various vikaranas शप् and the rest

which have been previously ordained under special circumstances.

The word व्यत्यय means transgression of the fixed rule, or interchange, taking of two vikaraṇas at a time, and so on. Thus भेदति = भिद् + शप् + ति instead of भिनत्ति from the root भिद् 'to split', belonging to the Rudhādi class; e. g. शुभ्रमस्य आण्डानि भेदति (Rig. VIII. 40. 11) 'He (Indra) break the eggs (children) of Shushma'; so also, जरसा मरते पतिः (Rig. X. 86. 11); here there is मरते = मृ + शप् + ते instead of म्रियते; the root मृ belonging to the Tudādi class. So, also there are two vikaraṇas at one and the same time, in the following. इन्द्रा वस्ते न नेषतु 'May Indra lead by this abode'; here there is नेषतु 3rd. per. sing. of the Imperative लोट् of the root नी 'to lead'; there are two vikaraṇas सिप् and शप् instead of नयतु = नी + शप् + त्; इन्द्रेण युजा तरुषेम वृजम् (Rig. VII. 48. 1). The word तरुषेम (ह + उ + सिप् + शप् + भन) is the 1st. per. sing. of the Optative (लिट्) of the root ह, the classical form being तरेम or तीर्यास्म 'may we cross'.

In the Vedic literature we have many apparent irregularities with regard to the rules of declension of nouns, conjugation of verbs, application of Parasmaipada or Atmanepada affixes; rules of gender, person or tense, rules of interchange of consonants, or of vowels, rules of accent, rules relating to कृन्, and तद्धित affixes and rules relating to the affixes included in the pratyāhāra यङ् (III. 1. 22 to III. 1. 86).

लिङ्याशिष्यङ् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङि, आशिषि, अङ्, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् तस्मिन्परतच्छन्दसि विषयेऽङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दृशेरश्वक्तव्यः ॥

86. The affix अङ् is employed in the Chhandas when the affixes of the Benedictive (आशीर्लिङ्) follow.

This debars शप्. The affixes of the Benedictive are Ārdhadhātuka by III. 4. 116; but in the Vedas they are sāravadhātuka as well; see Rule III. 4. 117. The scope of the present rule is confined to the Benedictive of the verbs स्था, गा, गम्, वच्, वद्, शाक् and रुह; as उपस्थेयम्; सस्यमुपगेयम्; गवेम जानतो गृहान्, मन्त्र वोचममये; विवेयमेनां मनसि प्रवेष्टां; व्रतम् चरिष्यामि तच्छुकेयम्; स्वर्गे लोकमङ्गहेयम्.

The affix अक् is employed in the Chhandas after the verb दृश् in the Benedictive. Had there been अङ्, it would have caused *gunā* by rule VII. 4. 16; to prevent this, अक् is ordained; as पितरंच दृशेय मातरंच 'May I see the father and the mother'.

कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रियः ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मवत्, कर्मणा, तुल्य-क्रिया. ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि क्रिया कर्म, कर्मस्थया क्रियया तुल्यक्रियः कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति ॥

87. The *ञ* denoting the agent, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object, is treated as if it were a *ञ* denoting the object.

This rule applies to reflexive verbs. "This direction implies the substitution for the operations incident to a tense-affix or *ञ*, denoting an agent, of all the operations, which fall to be performed when the tense-affix or *ञ* denotes the object. Hence there shall be the affixing of *यक्* (III. 1. 67) the employment of Atmanepada terminations (I. 3. 13), the substitution of *चिण्* for *चिन्* (III. 1. 66), and the treatment of the word as directed in sūtra VI. 4. 62." (Dr. Ballantyne). Thus *भियते काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'; *भमेहि काष्ठं स्वयमेव* 'the wood splits of itself'.

When an action is participated by or affects the agent in the same way as is done by the object, the agent is treated like an object.

When in an object, though it stands as an agent, the action is perceived to take place as in an object, then that agent becomes like an object: and all grammatical rules applicable to the object apply to such an agent.

The word *वत्* 'like' in the sūtra signifies that the rules which apply to an agent also come into operation; thus *भियते कुसूजेन*.

The word *कर्मणा* 'with the object' in the sūtra indicates that the *tulya-kriya* or similarity of action must be with the object, and not with the instrument or the location. Thus *साध्वसिद्धिनति* 'the sword cuts well'; here 'sword' is not agent but instrument. So also *साधु स्थाली पचति* 'the pot cooks well'; here *स्थाली* is a location.

This '*karma-vad-bhāva*, the passive-like-construction takes place only in cases of some verbs.

तपस्तपः कर्मकस्यैव ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तपः, तपः, कर्मकस्य, एव, (कर्मवत्, कर्त्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तप सन्तापे, अस्य कर्त्ता कर्मवद्भवति, स च तपः कर्मकस्यैव नान्य कर्मकस्य ॥

88. The agent of the verb *तप्* 'to heat,' becomes similar to the object, only when the object is the word *तपस्* itself.

Thus *तप्यते तपस्तापसः* 'the devotee performs austere devotion'; but not so in *उत्तपति सुवर्णं सुवर्णकारः* 'the goldsmith heats the gold'.

न दुहन्नुनमां यक्चिह्नौ ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, दुह-स्तु-नमां, यक्-चिह्नौ, (कर्मकर्त्तरि, कर्मवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुह स्तु नम् इत्येतेषां कर्मकर्तरि यक्चिणौ कर्मवद्भावापक्षितौ न भवतः ॥

• वार्तिकम् ॥ यक्चिणौः प्रतिषेधे णिभ्रन्थिमन्थिब्रूयात्मनेपदाकर्मकाणामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

89. The affix यक् (III. 1. 67) and चिण् (III. 1. 62) are not employed in the reflexive voice of the verbs दुह् 'to milk', स्तु 'to fall in drops' and नम् 'to bow'.

The affixes यक् and चिण् are used in forming the reflexive verbs, when the action affecting the agent is similar to the action which affects the object. With regard to the root दुह्, the affix यक् is only prohibited by the present sūtra; the चिण् being optionally employed by rule III. 1. 63, as दुग्धे, भदुग्ध or अहोहि गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself' प्रस्नुते or प्रास्नोष्ट गौः स्वयमेव 'the cow flows or flowed of itself'; नमते or अनस्त वण्डः स्वयमेव 'the stick bends or bent of itself'.

This prohibition of the employment of the affixes यक् and चिण् is extended to the verbs that take the affix णि (such as causatives &c.), to the verbs भ्रन्थ 'to loosen', मन्थ 'to compose' and ब्रू 'to speak', and to the Atmanepadi Intransitive verbs. As कारयते 'it is caused to be made of itself'; अचीकरन् 'it was caused to be made of itself'; भ्रूणीते 'it loosens of itself'; अभ्रूयन् 'it loosened of itself'; मन्थीते; अमन्थन् 'it composes or composed of itself'; ब्रूते and अवोचत् 'it speaks and spoke of itself'; आहते and आवधिष्ट माणवकः स्वयमेव.

कुषिरञ्जोः प्राचांश्यन्परस्मैपदं च ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ कुषि-रञ्जोः, प्राचाम्, श्यन्, परस्मैपदं, च, (कर्मकर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुष निष्कर्षे, रञ्ज रागे, अनयोर्धात्वोः कर्मकर्तरि प्राचामाचार्याणां मतेन श्यन् प्रत्ययो भवति परस्मैपदं च ॥

90. The affix श्यन् comes after the roots कुष् 'to pull', and रञ्ज 'to colour', in the reflexive voice, according to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, and these verbs take the affixes of the Parasmaipada.

This debars the affix यक् and the Atmanepada terminations. As कृष्यति पादः स्वयमेव 'the foot draws up of itself'; रज्यति वस्त्रं स्वयमेव 'the cloth colours of itself'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern' shows that it is an optional rule; so that we have also the forms कृष्यते and रज्यते.

धातोः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरित्ययमधिकारो वेदितव्यः, आ दतीयाध्यायपरिसमाप्तेर्वेदित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रम्यधातोर्धातोर्वैत तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

91. As far as the end of the Third Book

reckoning from the present aphorism, the affixes treated of are to be understood as coming after some verbal root.

This is an Adhikāra Sūtra. All these verbal affixes are broadly divided into two parts कृत् and कृष्, affixes, which will be described later on.

तत्रोपपदं सप्तमीस्थम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ तत्र, उपपदं, सप्तमी-
स्थम्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तत्रैतस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तृतीये यत्सप्तमी निर्विष्टं तदुपपदसंज्ञं भवति ॥

92. Here in this Third Book of Grammar referring to verbal roots, the word implied in a term exhibited in the locative case, is called 'upapada' or dependant word.

Thus in sūtra III. 2. कर्मण्यन् the word कर्मणि is exhibited in the 7th case ; therefore the word implied by the word कर्मणि, namely, the word having the accusative case, will be called उपपद. Thus कुम्भम् + कृ + अण् = कुम्भकार. 'a potter' ; here the word कुम्भम् is an upapada.

कदतिङ् ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कद्, अ-तिङ्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे तिङ्दर्जितः प्रत्ययः कृत्संज्ञको भवति ॥

93. In this portion of the Sūtras in which there is a reference to verbal roots, any affix except तिङ् (tense-affixes), is called कृत्.

Thus the affixes तव्यम् &c. are कृत्. All affixes up to the end of this Book belong to this class. These are affixes by which substantives are formed from verbal roots ; and they have, therefore, most aptly been termed primary affixes. Words formed by these affixes will be Prātipadikas or crude forms or nominal bases (I. 2. 46). Thus कृ + तव्यं = कर्तव्यं. Why do we say 'except तिङ् affixes'? Observe चीयात् 'may he collect', स्तुयात् 'may he praise' which form verbs and not nouns.

वाऽसरूपोऽस्त्रियाम् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, असरूपः, अस्त्रियाम्,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्मिन्धात्वधिकारे ऽसमानरूपः प्रत्ययो ऽपवाहो वा बाधको भवति स्वयधिकार-
विहितप्रत्ययं दर्शयित्वा ॥

94. In this portion of the Sūtras, in which there is a reference to verbal roots, an affix which is calculated to debar a general one, not being of the same

form, optionally debars it; but not so in the case of feminine affixes (III. 3. 94 &c.)

Thus the affixes **वृल्** and **हृच्** (III. 1. 133) are general affixes applicable to all roots in forming nouns of agency; and the sūtra III. 1. 133 which ordains these affixes, is an *utsarga* or a general rule; while the sūtra III. 1. 135 ordaining the affix **क्** after verbs having a penultimate इक् vowel, and the roots **ज्ञा**, **प्री** and **कृ** is an *apavāda* or a special aphorism. In the latter case, therefore, optionally we may have the affixes **वृल्** and **हृच्** also. Thus **क्षिप्** is a root that has a penultimate इ belonging to the pratyāhāra इक्; and therefore, in forming the noun of agency from it, the affix **क्** will have to be applied by rule 135 of this chapter already mentioned; thus **विक्षिप् + क = विक्षिप् + अ = विक्षिपः**; but this special rule however does not debar the operation of the general rule, and we have optionally **विक्षिप् + वृल् = विक्षेपकः**; and **विक्षिप् + हृच् = विक्षेप्ट** nom. sing. **विक्षेप्ता**.

Why do we say 'not being of the same form'? Because if two affixes have the same form, the present rule will not apply; and in the case of such affixes, the special affix will debar the general affix. Thus the affixes **अण्** and **क्** are, when stripped of their indicatory letters, affixes having the same form *i. e.* अ; and therefore the sūtra III. 2. 1. ordaining **अण्** as a general rule, will be always debarred by sūtra III. 2. 3 ordaining **क्**, as the latter is a special sūtra applicable only to those roots which end in long आ, or which are simple roots not compounded with any preposition. Thus **गो + रा + क = गोरः** 'giver of cows'. So also **कम्बजदः** 'blanket-giver'. In these cases we cannot have the affix **अण्**.

It follows from this sūtra as a necessary corollary, that the addition of indicatory letters does not make two or more affixes dissimilar in form (**भस्वरूप**) when their essential effective element is the same. Thus the affixes **क्**, **अण्**, **भृच्**, **ण** &c. are similar.

Why do we say 'but not so in the case of feminine affixes'? Because in the case of feminine affixes, a special affix will debar a general affix, though they may be dissimilar in form. Thus sūtra III. 3. 94 ordaining **क्तिन्** in forming feminine nouns from roots is a general or *utsarga* rule, while sūtra III. 3. 102 ordaining **अ** after roots that have already taken some affix is a special or *apavāda* rule, and though **अ** and **क्ति** are dissimilar in form, they being feminine affixes, the former will always debar the latter. Thus the compound desiderative roots **चिकीर्ष** and **जिहीर्ष** will form feminine nouns in **आ** and not by **क्तिन्**. Thus **चिकीर्षा** and **जिहीर्षा** and not **चिकीर्षक्ति** &c.

कृत्याः प्राङ्बुलः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, प्राक्, बुलः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ण्वुल्लृच्चाविति वक्ष्यति प्रागतस्माण्वुल्संशब्दनायानित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः
कृत्यसंज्ञकास्ते वेदितव्याः ॥

95. From this aphorism, as far as the aphorism ण्वुल्लृचौ (III. 1. 133), all the affixes treated, will get the name of *Kritya*.

This defines the class of affixes known as *kritya*, a subdivision of *krit* affixes. These are certain affixes like तव्य, अनीय &c, which may be treated as declinable verbal terminations. (III. 4. 70). The following 38 sūtras treat of these affixes. These verbal adjectives correspond in meaning to the Latin participles in *urus* conveyng the idea that the action expressed by the verbs ought to be done or will be done. The word formed by them may be called Passive Potential Participles or Future Passive Participles. The illustrations will be given hereafter under each affix as taught. The word *kritya* occurs in sūtras II. 1. 33, II. 3. 71 &c.

तव्यत्तव्यानीयरः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ तव्यत्-तव्य-अनीयरः,
(धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोस्तव्यत्तव्यानीयर् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसस्तव्यत् कर्त्तरि णिच् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्लिप्तम् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

96. The affixes तव्यत्, तव्य and अनीयर् come after verbal roots.

The phrase 'after verbal roots' is understood in this aphorism by anuvṛitti from sūtra 91. The final letters त् of तव्यत् and र् of अनीयर् are for the sake of indicating accent, being merely diacritical letters. The letter त् indicating svarita accent (VI. 1. 185) and the letter र indicating penultimate udātta accent (VI. 1. 217); these being exceptions to the general rule of accent given in sūtra 3 ante of this chapter.

Thus कृ + तव्यत् = कर्त्तव्यम्, and कृ + तव्य = कर्त्तव्यम् 'must be done'; कृ + अनीयर् = करणीयम् 'must be done'. In these cases the sense being that of the action itself, there is neuter gender singular number.

Vart:—The affix तव्यत् when coming after the verb वस् 'to dwell' in marking the agent, is treated as if it had an indicatory ए. The force of ए is to cause vṛiddhi. Thus वस् + तव्यत् = वास्तव्यः 'a dweller'. Here the word is in the masculine gender, as the force of the affix is that of the agent, and not as it generally has that of an act or object (III. 4. 70).

Vert:—The affix क्लिप्तम् should be enumerated in addition to those already enumerated in this aphorism. Thus पक्ष्मलिना माषाः 'kidney beans fit to be

cooked'; भिद्वेल्लिमानि काष्ठानि 'the woods are apt to be split *i. e.* fragile'. This affix is to be employed when it is intended to express an object alone (*i. e.* in the passive and reflexive sense) and cannot be employed like those enumerated above, to denote also the action.

अचो यत् ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवः, यत्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजन्ताद्धातोर्धत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तकिशसि वतिप्रभिरनीनामुपसंख्यानम् हनो वा वध च ॥

97. The affix यत् comes after a root that ends in a vowel.

The letter न् of this affix is indicatory showing that the udātta accent falls on the first vowel (VI. 1. 213); thus गा+यत्= गेय, noun sing. गेयम् 'what is to be sung'; so also पेयम् 'what is to be drunk'; जयम् 'what is to be conquered'. The आ of गा and पा is changed into ए by VI. 4. 65. Why do we say 'that ends in a vowel'? By sūtra 124 of this chapter, a root ending in a consonant takes ण्यत् affix instead of यत्; reading these two aphorisms together, the conclusion to be drawn is that the affix यत् comes after roots which *primarily* end in a vowel, though in the course of development they may end in a consonant by the application of other rules. Thus from हो 'to cut', we have the desiderative root हिस्स्, which ends in a vowel अ. This अ is elided before ārdha-dhātuka affixes and thus the root becomes हिस्स्, which ends in a consonant; nevertheless we shall have the affix यत् and not ण्यत्. Thus हिस्स्यम् 'what is wished to be cut'; हिस्स्यम् 'what is wished to be placed'. Similarly लु before ārdhadhātuka affixes becomes लो, the ओ is changed into अव् before य (VI. 1. 79) and the form then is लव्. The root लव् however, takes यत् and not ण्यत्; as लव्यो, पव्यम्, &c.

Vart:—The verbs तक् 'to fly', शक् 'to leap', चत् 'to ask', यत् 'to attempt' and जन् 'to be born', should be enumerated in addition; that is to say, these verbs, though ending in a consonant, take यत् and not ण्यत्; as तक्यम्, शस्यम्, चस्यम्, यस्यम्, and जन्यम्.

Vart:—And of the verb हन् 'to kill' ह्य is the substitute when it optionally takes the affix यत्. Thus we have वध्यम् or घात्यम्. The latter form is evolved by sūtras VII. 3. 32 and 54. The affix यत् comes only after the वध् substitute; after हन् the affix ण्यत् comes which changes the ह into घ, and न into त and causes vridhji.

घोरदुपधात् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पोः, अद्-उपधात्, (धातोः यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पवर्गान्ताद्धातोर्कारोपधात् यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix यत् comes after a root, which ends in a labial letter preceded by a short अ.

This debars **प्यत्**; thus **शप् + यत् = शप्यं** ‘to be sworn’; **लभ् + यत् = लभ्यम्** ‘to be acquired’.

Why do we say ‘which ends in a labial’? Because if a root ends in any other consonant, though preceded by a short **अ**, the root will take **प्यत्**; thus **पच् + प्यत् = पाक्यम्** ‘what is to be cooked’; **वाक्यम्** ‘speech’.

Why do we say ‘when preceded by a short **अ**’? When preceded by any other vowel, it will take **प्यत्**; thus **कुप् + प्यत् = कोप्यम्** ‘to be angry’; so also **गोप्यम्** ‘to be concealed’.

The word **अत्** is used in the *sūtra* in the original. The force of **त्** here is, by I. i. 70, that short **अ** having one *mātrā* or prosodial length is to be taken and not long **आ**. Therefore, after the root **आप्** ‘to obtain’, we have **प्यत्** and not **यत्**; thus **आप्यम्** ‘to be reached’ *i. e.* ‘attainable’.

शकिसहोश्च ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि-सहोः, च, (धातोः, यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्शक्ती, सह मर्षणे, अनयोर्धात्वोर्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

99. The affix **यत्** comes after the roots **शक्** ‘to be able’, and **सह** ‘to bear’.

Thus **शक्यम्** ‘possible’; **सह्यम्** ‘endurable’.

गदमदचरयमश्चानुपसर्गे ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ गद-मद-चर-यमः, च, अनुपसर्गे, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गद मव चर यमः, एतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गेभ्यो यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ चरेराङि चागुरी ॥

100. The affix **यत्** comes after the roots **गृ** ‘to speak’, **मद** ‘to be mad’, **चर** ‘to go, to eat’, and **यम** to restrain’, when these roots do not take any preposition.

Thus **गद्यम्** ‘what is to be spoken, *i. e.* prose’; **मद्यम्** ‘wine’; **चर्यम्** ‘what is to be followed’; **यम्यम्** ‘what is to be restrained’.

Why do we say ‘when not preceded by a preposition’? When compounded with an *upasarṅga*, these roots will take **प्यत्**; thus **प्रगाद्यम्**; **प्रमाद्यम्** &c.

The root **यम्** would have taken the affix **यत्** by *sūtra* 98 also, as it ends in **म** and is preceded by **अ**; its separate enumeration in this *sūtra* is in order to show, that the compound verb **यम्** will not take the affix **यत्**. Therefore with regard to **यम्**, this is a *niyama* or restrictive rule and not a *vidhi* or original rule.

Vart :—The root **चर** when preceded by the preposition **आङ्** takes the **यत्** affix when the sense is not that of a preceptor; thus **आचर्या देशः** ‘an approachable or communicable country’. But when the sense is that of a teacher the root takes **प्यत्**; thus **आचर्यः** ‘a preceptor’.

अवद्यपश्यवया गह्यपणितव्यानिरोधेषु ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥
अवद्य-पश्य-वयाः, गह्य-पणितव्य-अनिरोधेषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवद्य पश्य वया इत्येते शब्दा निपादयन्ते गह्यं पणितव्य अनिरोध इत्येतेष्वर्थेषु यथासंख्यम् ॥

101. The words अवद्य, पश्य and वया are irregularly formed, having the sense of 'condemnable', 'saleable' and 'unobstructable' respectively.

Thus, अवद्यं पादं 'censurable sin'. Another and regular form is अनुद्यम्. This is formed by adding the affix क्यप् to the root वृ by III. 1. 106. So also पश्यः कम्बलः 'saleable blanket'; पश्याः गौः 'saleable cow'. The other and regular form is पाण्यम्, formed by the addition of ण्यन्. So also शतं वया 'unobstructed by hundred'; सहस्रेण वया 'unobstructed by thousand'. The other and regular form is वृश्या from the root वृ 'to choose'. वया means a girl choosing her own husband and is non-obstructable by any body. The word वया in the sūtra is in the feminine gender, and it is in this gender only that the word is so formed. In the masculine gender, the word is regularly formed; thus वार्या ऋत्विजः.

वह्यं करणम् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह्यं, करणम्, (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह्यर्थातोः करणे यत्प्रत्ययो निपादयते ॥

102. The word वह्य is irregularly formed, when the meaning of the word is an instrument of carrying.

The word वह्य is derived from root वह 'to carry' and means 'a vehicle', i. e. that by which a thing is carried; as वह्यं शकटम्. When it does not mean a carriage, the root takes the affix ण्यत्; thus वाह्यः 'an ox'.

अर्यः स्वामिवैश्ययोः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्यः, स्वामि-वैश्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋ गन्ती, अस्माप्स्यति प्राप्ते, स्वामिवैश्ययोरभिव्येययोर्यत्प्रत्ययो निपादयते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ यतो ऽनाव इत्याद्युदात्तत्वे प्राप्ते, स्वामिन्यन्तोदात्तत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

103. The word अर्य is irregularly formed when meaning 'lord' and a 'Vaiśya'.

The root ऋ 'to go', would have taken ण्यत् by sūtra 124 of this chapter; but it takes यत् when the sense of the word formed by it is that of a 'lord' or a man of 'Vaiśya' caste. As अर्यः इवानी, 'honored lord', अर्यो वैश्यः 'honored Vaiśya'.

Vart: Though by VI. 1. 213, the affix यत् makes the udātta accent fall on the first syllable of the word, yet in the case of the word अर्य, when it means 'lord', the accent falls on the last syllable.

Why do we say 'when it means a lord or a Vaiśya'? Otherwise the root takes the affix ण्यत्; as आर्यो ब्राह्मणः 'the respectable Brāhmaṇa'.

उपसर्गो कात्या प्रजने ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गो, कात्या,
प्रजने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गेति निपात्यते कात्या चेल्यजने भवति ॥

104. The word उपसर्गो is irregularly formed when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception, or ripe for fruition.

The word उपसर्गो is formed by adding यत् affix to the root कृ 'to move', compounded with the preposition उप. The word कात्या means having reached the time. The word प्रजन means the first conception. Thus उपसर्गो गौः 'the cow fit for the bull'; उपसर्गो वडवा 'the mare fit for the horse'.

Why do we say 'when meaning what has reached the time favorable to conception'? Otherwise the affix ण्यत् will be used; as उपसर्गो शरदि मधुरा 'Madhura is approachable in Sarat season'.

अजर्यम् संगतम् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अजर्यम्, संगतम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजर्यमिति निपात्यते संगतं चेद्भवति ॥

105. The word अजर्यम् 'imperishable' is irregularly formed when qualifying the word संगतम् 'friendship' expressed or understood.

The word अजर्यम् is formed from the root जृ by the addition of यत्, and affixing the negative particle अ; as अ + जृ + यत् = अजर्यम्.

Thus अजर्यं नोऽस्तु संगतम् 'let our friendship be imperishable'. So also अजर्यमार्थसंगतम्.

Why do we say 'when qualifying the word संगतम्'? Observe अजरिता कम्बलः 'undecaying blanket'.

वदः सुपि क्यप् च ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वदः, सुपि, क्यप्, च,
(यत्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वदधर्मातोः सञ्ज्ञत उपपदे अनुपसर्गो क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यच्च ॥

• 106. After the root वद् 'to speak', governing a case-inflected word as its upapada, and not having a preposition annexed to it, there comes the affix क्यप् also.

The phrase 'not having a preposition' is to be read into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 100 ante. The force of the word 'also' is to indicate that the affix यत् is also employed. The word सुपि means 'in construction with an upapada that ends in case-affix'.

Thus ब्रह्म + वद् + क्यप् = ब्रह्म + वद् + य = ब्रह्मोद्यम्; ब्रह्म + वद् + यत् = ब्रह्मवद्यम् 'told by the Vēdas or Brahman'. Similarly सत्योद्यम् or सत्यवद्यम् 'truth-mouthed'.

Why do we say 'when it has a case-inflected word as upapada'? Otherwise वद् + यत् = वाद्यम् a 'musical instrument'.

Why do we say 'not having a preposition'? Observe प्रवाद्यम् 'a rumour' formed by the affix पयत् and not by यन्, or कयप्.

भुवो भावे ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि. ॥ भुवः, भावे, (अनुपसर्गे, सुपि, कयप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे कयप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

107. After the root भू 'to be', in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada and when used without a preposition, the affix कयप् is employed to denote condition (bhâva).

The words सुपि and अनुपसर्गे of previous sūtras are understood in this. The *anuvṛtti* of यत् does not cover this aphorism. As ब्रह्मभुयं गतः = ब्रह्मत्वं गतः 'gone to or arrived at Brahmahood; देवभुयं = देवत्वं गतः 'gone to divinity'.

The word *bhâva* of this sūtra governs the succeeding ones.

Why do we say 'in construction with a case-inflected word'? Otherwise it will take यत्; as भू + यत् = भू + यत् = भव्यम् (VI. 1. 79).

Why do we say 'not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रभव्यम्.

हन्तस्त च ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हन्ः, त, च, (सुपि, अनुपसर्गे, कयप्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्भातोः सुबन्त उपपदे अनुपसर्गे भावे कयप् प्रत्ययो भवति तकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

108. After the root हन् 'to kill', when in construction with a case-inflected word as its upapada, and when used without a preposition, comes the affix कयप् in denoting condition, and the letter त is the substitute of its final.

The phrases सुपि अनुपसर्गे and भावे are understood in this sūtra.

As ब्रह्म + हन् + कयप् = ब्रह्म + हन् + य = ब्रह्महन्त्य, (VI. 1. 71) ब्रह्महत्या 'Brahman-murder'. So also अश्वहन्त्या 'killing a horse'.

When not in construction with a noun, the form is पातः 'a blow' (हन् + णिच् + पच्). This verb does not take the affix पयत् in denoting condition, there being no example of such formation.

Why do we say 'when not taking a preposition'? Observe प्रघातो वर्तते 'there is a combat'.

एतिस्तुशास्वदृजुषः कयप् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ एति-स्तु-शास्-व-दृ-जुषः, कयप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एति स्तु शास् वृ दृ जुषः इत्येतेभ्यः कयप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शंसिदुहि गुह्यो वेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाक् पूर्वार्द्धे संज्ञानुपसंख्यानम् ॥

109. After the verbs इ 'to go', स्तु 'to praise', शास् 'to govern', वृ 'to choose', हृ 'to respect' and ज्ञप् 'to please', comes the affix क्यप्.

The anuvritti of सुप्, अनुसर्गं and भावे does not extend to this aphorism. The present sūtra ordains generally the affix क्यप् after the above verbs. Thus इ + क्यप् = इ + त + य (VI. 1. 71) = इत्यः 'to be gone'. The letter त being added by Rule VI. 1. 71 which declares 'त is the augment of a short vowel when a कट् affix, with an indicatory प follows'. So also स्तु + क्यप् = स्तुर्यः 'to be praised'; शास् + क्यप् = शिस् + य (आ being changed into इ by VI. 4. 34) = शिष्यः 'to be instructed i. e. a pupil'. So also वृ + क्यप् = वृथ्यः 'to be chosen'; आहृ + क्यप् = आहृथ्यः 'to be honoured'; ज्ञप् + क्यप् = ज्ञथ्यः 'to be served'.

Though the anuvritti of क्यप् was coming from the previous sūtra 100, its repetition in this aphorism is to indicate that other rules such as 125 of this chapter should not take effect in the above verbs. Thus Rule 125 requires एयत् 'after the verb स्तु, but the present rule prohibits that. Thus we have अयथ्य स्तुर्यः 'must be praised'.

By वृ in the sūtra the root वृञ् is intended to be taken, and not the root वृद्ध्. The equivalent derivative of the latter is वार्यः as वार्या ऋग्विजः.

*Part:—*The roots शस् 'to praise' दुह् 'to milk' and गृह् 'to cover' optionally take the affix क्यप्. As शस्थ्यम् or शंस्थ्यम् (VI. 4. 37); दुह्यम् or होह्यम्, गृह्यम् or गोह्यम्.

*Part:—*The verb अञ् 'to anoint', preceded by the preposition आहृ takes the affix क्यप् when used as an appellative. As आ + अञ् + क्यप् = आहृथ्यम् meaning clarified butter. The nasal is elided by VI. 4. 24.

*Obj:—*How do you explain the form उपेयम् which is evidently formed from the root इ by adding यत्? According to the present sūtra, the affix क्यप् ought to have been added. Ans. The इ in उपेयम् is a different root from that taken here. The root in this sūtra is इण् of the Adādi class.

ऋदुपधाच्चारूपिचृतेः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋद्-उपधात्, च, अरूपि-चृतेः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारोपधाच्च धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति रूपिचृती वर्जयित्वा ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ पाणौ स्तुजं पर्यङ्गक्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ समवपूर्वाच्च ॥

110. After verbs having a penultimate short ऋ, the affix क्यप् is employed, with the exception of the verbs कृप् 'to be able', and चृत् 'to hurt'.

Thus वृत् + क्यप् = वृथ्यम्; so also वृथ्यम्. But कृप् and चृत् will form कथ्यम् and चरथ्यम्.

Why have we used the letter त् in ऋत्? It is to indicate that short ऋ

is meant and not long ऋ (I. 1. 70). Therefore the root कृत् will take ण्यन् and form कीर्यम्.

Part :—The root सृज् takes the affix ण्यन् when compounded with the word पाणि. Thus पाणिसर्ग्या रज्जुः 'a rope'.

Part :—The root सृज् when preceded by both सम् and अव takes ण्यन् as समवसर्ग्या.

ई च खनः ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ ई, च, खनः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनेर्धातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवतीकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

111. The affix क्यप् is employed after the root खन 'to dig', and long ई is substituted for the final of the root.

Thus खन् + क्यप् = ख + ई + य = खंयम् 'to be dug'. The long ई is used in the sūtra for the sake of euphony. The same purpose would have been served by using short इ, thus 'इ च खनः'. But the long ई indicates that the rule VI. 4. 43 does not apply here. By that rule the अ of खन् would have been lengthened into आ before the affix क्यप्.

भृजोऽसंज्ञायाम् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भृजः, अ-संज्ञायाम्, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृजो धातोरसंज्ञायां विषये क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ संपूर्वादिभाषा ॥

112. The affix क्यप् is employed after the verb भृज् 'to bear' when not used as a name.

Thus भृ + क्यप् = भृय Pl. भृत्याः 'those who ought to be supported' i. e. 'servants'. Why do we say 'when not used as an appellative'? Observe भृ + ण्यन् = भार्यः 'a Kshatriya'.

Part :—The use of *kyap* is optional when this verb takes the preposition सम्. Thus संभृत्याः or संभार्याः.

मृजेर्विभाषा ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मृजेः, विभाषा, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मृजेर्धातोर्विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

113. The affix क्यप् optionally comes after the root मृज् 'to cleanse'.

This is an example of *Prāpta-vibhāṣā*. By rule 110 ante, the root मृज् having a penultimate ऋ would have necessarily taken *kyap*; this sūtra declares an option. As परिमृज्यः or परिमार्ग्यः 'to be cleansed'. The second form is thus evolved :—

परिमृज् + ण्यन् (III. 1. 124) = परिमृग् + य (VII. 3. 52) = परिमार्ग्य (VII. 2. 114)

राजसूयसूर्यमृषोद्यरुच्यकुप्यकृष्टपच्यव्यध्याः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥

राजसूय-सूर्य-मृषोद्य-रुच्य-कुप्य-कृष्ट-पच्य-अव्यध्याः, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजसूय सूर्यं मृषोद्य रुच्यं कुप्यं कृष्टं पच्यं अव्यधय इत्येते शब्दाः क्यपि निपादन्ते ॥

114. The words राजसूय सूर्यं मृषोद्य रुच्यं कुप्यं कृष्टं पच्यं and अव्यधय are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix क्यप्.

Thus राज्ञा सोतव्यः or राज्ञा इह सूयते, राज् + सू + क्यप् = राजसूयः 'the Rajasūya or coronation sacrifice.

Similarly सूर्ये or सू + क्यप् = सूर्यः 'the sun', literally that which moves (सरति) in the sky; or that which impels (स्रवति) creation to action. मृष + वृ + क्यप् = मृषोद्यम् 'false speech'; this is an exception to rule 106, by which यन् would also have been applied. This rule prevents it. Thus रोचते ऽसौ, रुच् + क्यप् = रुच्यः 'an agreeable lover'. So also गुप् + क्यप् = कुप्यम् 'a base metal (other than gold and silver)'; the other form is गोप्यम्। कृष्ट + पच् = कृष्टपच्यः 'that which ripens of itself in cultivated ground'. न च्ययते = अव्यधयः 'a snake (what does not move by legs)'.

भिद्योद्भयौ नदे ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिद्य-उद्भयौ, नदे, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिद्वेरुद्भयौ क्यप् निपात्यते नदं ऽभिधये ॥

115. The words भिद्य and उद्भय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when meaning a 'river'.

Thus भिद् + क्यप् = भिद्यः 'a river that breaks its banks by the rush of its water', the name of the Bhīdya river.

ऊज्झ् + क्यप् = उद्भय 'a river whose waters overflow the banks', name of the Uddhya river; the झ is changed into य.

When not meaning or qualifying the river, the regular forms are used; thus भेत्ता and उज्झिता.

पुष्यसिद्धयौ नक्षत्रे ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुष्य-सिद्धयौ, नक्षत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुषे सिधेर्भाधिकरणे क्यप् निपात्यते नक्षत्रं ऽभिधये ॥

116. The words पुष्य and सिद्धय are irregularly formed by the affix क्यप् when used as names of asterisms.

Thus पुष् + क्यप् = पुष्यः 'the Pushya asterism'. It is so called because objects are nourished under the influences of this asterism. सिध् + क्यप् = सिद्धयः 'the asterism Siddhyā' another name of Pushya, so-called because things are accomplished under the influence of this star.

When not the names of asterisms, the forms are पोषण 'nourishing', संपन्नम् 'accomplishing'.

विषूयविनीयजित्या मुञ्जकल्कहलिषु ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ विषूय-
विनीय-जित्याः, मुञ्ज-कल्क-हलिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विषूय विनीय जित्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं मुञ्जकल्कहलि इत्येते
स्वयं चोभयं ॥

117. The words विषूय, विनीय and जित्य are irregularly formed when they mean, the 'munja grass', the 'sediment' and the 'plough' respectively.

Thus वि+पू+क्यप् = विषूयः etymologically 'that which has to be purified to make rope'; वि+नी+क्यप् = विनीय 'a sediment or sin'; जि+क्यप् = जित्य 'a plough that which is to be conquered by strength'.

The regular derivatives are विपाद्यम्, विनेयम् and जेयम्.

प्रत्यपिभ्यां ग्रहेश्छन्दसि ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रति-अपिभ्यां,
ग्रहेः, छन्दसि, (क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रति अपि इत्येवं पूर्वाद् ग्रहेः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति छन्दसि विषये ॥

118. The verb ग्रह 'to seize', preceded by the prepositions प्रति and अपि, takes the affix क्यप् in the Vedic literature.

Thus मत्तस्य न प्रतिगृह्यम् ; तस्मान्नापिगृह्यम् ॥

In the classical Sanskrit the proper forms are प्रतिग्राह्यम् and अपिग्राह्यम्.

पदास्वैरिबाह्यापत्येषु च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-अस्वैरि-
बाह्या-पत्येषु, च, (ग्रहेः, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्वैरिणि बाह्यायां पत्ये चार्थे ग्रहेर्भातोः क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The root ग्रह takes the affix क्यप्, when it means a 'word', a 'dependent', 'outside', or a 'partisan'.

Thus प्रगृह्यम् 'the Pragrihya words that do not admit of sandhi, already defined in sūtra I. 1. 11. So also अङ्गृह्यम्.

The word अस्वैरि means dependent upon others, not free to provide for himself. Thus गृह्यकाः शुक्राः 'the captive parrots'.

The word बाह्या means 'situated outside'. Thus ग्रामगृह्या सेना 'an army lying outside the village'. The word बाह्या being in the feminine gender indicates that the derivative word formed from ग्रह must also be feminine in gender to have this sense.

The word पत्ये is derived from पक्ष 'a side, a party', and means a partisan, follower or friend. Thus वासुदेवगृह्याः 'siding with or being the partisans of Vāsudeva'. So also अर्जुनगृह्याः 'belonging to the party of Arjun'.

विभाषा कृषोः ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, क-वृषोः, (क्यप्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृमो वृषश्च विभाषा क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥ •

120. After the verbs कृम् 'to do', and वृष् 'to rain' the affix क्यप् is optionally employed.

The root कृ would have taken the affix ण्यत् by 124, and the verb वृष् would necessarily have taken क्यप् by 110; the present sūtra therefore declares an optional rule. Thus : कृ + क्यप् = कृत्यम् 'to be done'; or कृ + ण्यत् = कार्यम्. So also वृष्यम् or वृष्यम् 'stimulating'.

युग्यं च पत्रे ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ युग्यम्, च, पत्रे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ युग्यमिति निपात्यन् पत्रं चेद्भवति ॥

121. The word युग्यम् is irregularly formed meaning a vehicle.

The word पत्र means that by which a thing is carried. Thus युग्यो गौ 'the carrier bull or the yoked bull'. युग्यो हस्ती 'the harnessed elephant ready to carry'. युज् + क्यप् = युग्यम्. The ज् is changed into ग. When not meaning a carrier or a carriage, it has the form योग्यं.

अमावस्यदन्यतरस्याम् ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अमावस्यद्, अन्यतरस्याम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमावस्यः सहायैवर्तते, तस्मिन्नुपपदे वसेद्धातोः कालेऽधिकरणे एतत्प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रान्तरस्यां वृद्धाभावो निपात्यते ॥

122. Optionally the word अमावस्या is irregularly formed.

The word अमा means 'along' or 'together'. अमा in composition with the root वस् 'to dwell', takes the affix ण्यत् in the sense of location of time. Optionally the *Vridhhi* is not substituted in such a case. The time or the day on which the sun and the moon dwell together in the same constellation is called अमावास्या or अमावस्या.

The final त् in अमावस्यत् is indicative and is for the sake of showing where should the proper accent fall.

The two forms अमावस्या or अमावास्या are the same word, and *a fortiori* a rule made with regard to one will be made applicable to the other. And to this effect there is a *paribhāṣhā* which declares एकदेशविकृतस्यानन्दत्वम्; 'that which has undergone a change in regard to one of its parts, is by no means in consequence of this change, something else than what it was before the change had taken place'. Therefore sūtra IV. 3. 30, though it, in terms, says अमावास्याया वा is made applicable to the form अमावस्या also.

छन्दसि निष्ठकर्म-देवहूय-प्रणीयो-उन्नीयो-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्था-ध्वर्य-खन्य-
खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचाय्य-पृडानि ॥ १२३ ॥
पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, निष्ठकर्म-देवहूय-प्रणीय-उन्नीय-उच्छिष्य-मर्य-स्तर्था-ध्वर्य-
खन्य-खान्य-देवयज्या-आपृच्छ्य-प्रतिषीव्य-ब्रह्मवाद्य-भाव्य-स्ताव्य-उपचाय्य-
पृडानि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निष्ठकर्मार्थः शब्दप्रच्छन्दसि विषये निपात्यन्ते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिरण्य इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

123. In the Vedas the following words are found which are formed irregularly :—निष्ठकर्म, देवहूय, प्रणीय, उन्नीय, उच्छिष्य, मर्य, स्तर्था, ध्वर्य, खन्य, खान्य, देवयज्या, आपृच्छ्य, प्रतिषीव्य, ब्रह्मवाद्य, भाव्य, स्ताव्य and उपचाय्यपृड.

The formation of the above words are extremely irregular and they are all met with in the Vedic literature only. Thus the word निष्ठकर्म is derived from the root कृत् 'to cut', with the preposition निस्, and the affix ण्यत्, instead of क्यप् which is the regular affix, by 110; निः+कृत्+ण्यत् = निः+हृक्+य (the root कृत् transformed into हृक् by transposition) = निष्ठकर्म. As निष्ठकर्म विन्वीत् पशुकामः.

The above is apparently a guess-work etymology of grammarians.

So also देवहूय is formed by adding to the root हूयते 'to call' or हू 'to invoke', the affix क्यप् and the upapada देव; the vowel of the root is then lengthened and the augment त (VI. I. 71), is not allowed, देव+है or हू+क्यप् = देवहूयः. So also प्र+नी (to lead)+क्यप् = प्रणीयः; उत्+नी+क्यप् = उन्नीयः; उत्+शिष् (to leave)+क्यप् = उच्छिष्यम्; मृ (to die)+यत् = मर्यः; स्तृ (to cover)+यत् = स्तर्था; it is always feminine. धृ (to bend)+यत् = ध्वर्यः; खन् (to dig)+यत् = खन्यः; खन्+ण्यत् = खान्यः; देव (God)+यज् (to sacrifice)+यत् = देवयज्या; always used as feminine. आ+पृच्छ (to ask)+क्यप् = आपृच्छ्यः; प्रति+सीव (to sew)+क्यप् = प्रतिषीव्यः; ब्रह्मण+वत् (to speak)+ण्यत् = ब्रह्मवाद्यः; भू (to be)+ण्यत् = भाव्यः; स्तु (to praise)+ण्यत् = स्ताव्यः; उप+चि (to collect)+ण्यत्+पृडं = उपचाय्यपृडम्. This last word is formed then only when the word पृड follows: and when the sense is that of 'gold'. When it does not mean 'gold', the form is उपचैयपृडम्.

• ऋहलोऽर्पयत् ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋ-हलोः, ययत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्हन्ताच्च ण्यप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

124. The affix ण्यत् comes after a verb that ends in ऋ (long or short), or in a consonant.

The phrase ऋहलोः is in the genitive case dual number, the force of genitive here being that of ablative. As कृ+ण्यत् = कार्यम् 'to be made'; हृ+ण्यत् =

हार्यं nom. sing. हार्यम् 'to be taken'; धृ + ण्यत् = धार्यं; 'to be held'; वच् + ण्यत् = वाक्यं (VII. 3. 52) = वाक्यं (VII. 2. 116) 'to be spoken'; पच् + ण्यत् = पाक्यम्.

ओरावश्यकै ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ओः, आवश्यकै (यत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति आवश्यकै बोध्यै ॥

1: The affix ण्यत् comes after a root that ends in the letter उ long or short when the sense is that of necessity.

This debars the affix यत्. Thus लु + ण्यत् = लौ + य = लाव्यं (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79) 'must be cut'; so also पु + ण्यत् = पाव्यम् 'must be purified'.

When 'necessity' is not indicated we have the form लव्य 'to be cut'. The sūtra as given in the original is rather ambiguous; it may be construed to mean, 1st when the word आवश्यक or a word having the sense of this term is in construction as upapada, the affix ण्यत् is employed: or 2ndly when, the sense of the affix is that of 'necessity', the ण्यत् is employed. There are objections to both these interpretations taken separately. For in the first case, though we could form the words अवश्यलाव्य &c., we could not form the word लाव्य by itself. In the second case, though we could form the single word लाव्य, we could not form the compound. The best solution is to take the second interpretation and form the compound by the universal rule of *Tatpurusha* contained in II. 1. 72, which would also regulate the accent.

**आसुयुवपिरपिलपित्रपिचमश्च ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आसु-यु-वपि-
-रपि-लपि-त्रपि-चमः, च, (यत्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वक सुनोते: यु वपि रपि लपि त्रपि चम् इत्येतेभ्यश्च ण्यत् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. The affix ण्यत् comes after the verbs आसु 'to distil', यु 'to join', वप् 'to sow', रप् 'to speak distinctly' लप् 'to prate', त्रप् 'to be' ashamed', and चम् 'to drink'.

The verb आसु is a compound verb formed by the preposition आङ् and the root सु. This sūtra debars यत् that would otherwise have come by sūtra 97 and 98.

Thus आसु + ण्यत् = आसाव्यम्, (VII. 2. 115 and VI. 1. 79); so also याव्यम्, शाव्यम्, राव्यम्, लाव्यम्, ज्ञाव्यम् and आचाव्यम्.

The force of the word च 'and' in the sūtra, is to indicate that the roots not included in the above enumeration should also be taken. Thus इम् + ण्यत् = इव्यम् ॥

आनाय्योऽनित्ये ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ आनाय्यः, अनित्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय्य इति निपात्यते अनित्येऽभिधेये । नयतेराङ् पूर्वाण्यदायादेशौ निपात्यते ॥

127. The word आनाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'impermanent'.

This word is thus formed :—आङ् + नी + ण्यत् = आ + नी + य = आनाय्यः, (the *ह* being changed into आय् by the analogy of VI. 1. 79).

As आनाय्यो दक्षिणग्निः. This is a species of Dakṣiṇāgni fire. As this fire is brought from the Gārhapatya fire and is not permanently kept alive, therefore it is called ānāyya. This however, is not co-extensive with Dakṣiṇāgni. It is that fire which is brought from the Gārhapatya, and has the same source with the Dakṣiṇāgni and Ahavaniyāgni. A Dakṣiṇāgni fire may be taken from different sources, as from the family of a well-to-do Vaishya, or from a frying place, or from Gārhapatya fire. When it is taken from the last i. e. from Gārhapatya fire, it is ānāyya Dakṣiṇāgni. Ahavaniya is also taken from Gārhapatya.

It is not every thing, that is not lasting, which is called ānāyya ; for a fragile pot will not be called so. It applies only to the consecrated fire. When it has not this sense, the form is आनेय meaning 'what ought to be brought'.

प्रणाय्योऽसम्मतौ ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रणाय्यः, असम्मतौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रणाय्य इति निपात्यन्ते ऽसंमतावभिधेये ॥

128. The word प्रणाय्यः is irregularly formed when meaning 'disapproved'.

The word असंमति is a negative word meaning 'non-agreement'. It means also 'disrespect'.

Thus प्रणाय्यश्चोरः 'the thief is to be disliked'.

Why do we say when meaning 'disapproved'. Because otherwise the regular form is प्र + नी 'to lead' + यत् = प्रणेत्यः 'tractable'.

The word in the sūtra is असंमति which we have translated as 'disapproved'. But the word संमति also means अभिलाष or 'desire' ; and असंमति would therefore, mean 'free from desire or worldly attachment'. Therefore the word असंमति means also 'free from attachment', as in the following sentence :—

ज्येष्ठाय पुत्राय पिता ब्रह्म प्रब्रूयात्, प्रणाय्याय अन्तेवासिने नान्यस्मै कस्मैचन 'let the father teach the Secret Doctrine to his eldest son, or to such pupil who is free from worldly attachment, and to no one else'.

पाय्यसांनाय्यनिकार्यधार्या मानहविर्निवाससामिधेनीषु ॥

१२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाय्य-सांनाय्य-निकार्य-धार्याः, मान-हविः-निवास-सामि-धेनीषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाय्यादेव शब्दो निपात्यन्ते यथासंख्यं माने हविषि निवासे सामिधेन्यां चाभिधेयानाम् ॥

129. The words पाय्य, साज्ञाय्य, निकाय्य and धाया are irregularly formed meaning 'a measure', 'an oblation to fire', 'a dwelling', and 'a sacrificial prayer', respectively.

These words are supposed to be formed thus:—मा (to measure)+प्यत् = पाय्यम्, the म being changed into प and another य being added by VII. 3. 33. The regular form is मेयम् 'to be measured' (मा+प्यत्=मे+य VI. 4. 65=मेय). सम्+न् (to lead)+प्यत् = सान्नाय्यम् 'the oblation'. It being a crude form applies to a particular kind of oblation. The regular form is सन्नेयम्। नि+त्रि (to collect)+प्यत् = नि+चै+य=नि+चाय+य=निकाय्यः 'a dwelling'. The regular form is निचैय। धा (to put)+प्यत् = धाया (fem.). The sāmādheni is the name of certain *Rik* hymns used as supplemental verses in a Litany. The other form is धेय।

ऋतौ कुण्डपाय्यसंचायौ ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋतौ, कुण्डपाय्य-संचायौ ॥

वृत्तिः। कुण्डपाय्य संचाय्य इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यन्ते ऋतावभिधेये ॥

130. The words कुण्डपाय्यः and संचाय्यः are irregularly formed meaning a sacrifice.

These words are thus formed: कुण्ड+पा (to drink)+यत् = कुण्ड+पा+य+य (VII. 3. 33) = कुण्डपाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is drunk with a bowl'. The accent falls on the first syllable by VI. 1. 213. सम्+त्रि (to collect)+प्यत् = संचाय्यः 'the sacrifice in which Soma is collected'.

If not applied to sacrifices, the forms will be कुण्डपानम् and संचेयः.

अग्नौ परिचार्योपचार्यसमूह्याः ॥ १३१ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, परिचार्य उपचार्य-समूह्याः ॥

वृत्तिः। परिचार्य उपचार्य समूह्य इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते अग्नावभिधेये ॥

131. The words परिचार्यः, उपचार्यः and समूह्यः are irregularly formed when they are names of fire.

These words are thus formed:—परि+त्रि+प्यत् = परि+चै+य = परि+चाय+य = परिचार्यः 'sacrificial fire arranged in a circle' (the रै being changed into आय by the analogy of VI. 1. 79. This peculiar sandhi before the semivowel य has been illustrated in the previous examples also). So also उपचार्यः 'a kind of sacred fire'. सम्+वह+प्यत् = सम्+ऊह+य = समूह्यः 'a kind of fire'. समूह्यं चिन्वीत पशुकामः let him kindle the Samūhya fire desirous of a victim'.

Why do we say 'when they are names of fire'? Observe otherwise परिचैयम् 'to be heaped', उपचैयम् 'to be increased', संचाय्यम् 'to be carried'.

चित्याग्निचित्ये च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्य-अग्निचित्ये, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चित्यशब्दोऽग्निचित्याशब्दश्च निपात्येते ॥

132. The words चित्य and अग्निचित्य are also irregularly formed.

The word चित्यः comes from the root चि 'to collect', and means fire *i. e.* that which is collected. As चित्योऽग्निः 'the funeral pile fire'. The word अग्निचित्य means, arranging the fire. The affix च has been added to denote condition, together with the augment तुक् (त्). These words have *udatta* accent on the last vowel. The regular form is चयम् 'to be gathered'.

एवुल्लृचौ ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एवुल्लृचौ, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यो एवुल्लृचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

133. The affixes एवुल् (अक) and लृच् (ट) are placed after all verbal roots, expressing the agent.

The word 'root' is understood in the above aphorism. Thus कृ 'to do' + एवुल् = कार + वु (VII. 2. 115) = कार + अक (VII. 1. 1) = कारक nom. sing. कारकः 'doer.' कृ + लृच् = कर् + लृ (VII. 3. 84) = कर्त्तृ nom. sing. कर्ता. So also हारकः and हर्ता.

The च् of लृच् is not indicatory, but distinguishes this affix from लृन्; the simple लृ includes both लृच् and लृन्, as in V. 3. 59, and VI. 4. 154.

नन्दिग्रहिपक्षादिभ्यो ल्युगिन्यचः ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नन्दि-ग्रहि-पक्षादिभ्यः, ल्यु, गिनि, अचः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निभ्योगणोभ्यल्ययः प्रत्यया यथासंख्यं भवन्ति, नन्दादिभ्यो ल्युः, ग्रहादिभ्यो गिनिः, पक्षादिभ्यो अचः ॥

134. After the verbs classed as नन्द् 'to be happy', ग्रह 'to take' and पच् 'to cook' there are the affixes ल्यु (अन) गिनि (इन्) and अच (अ) respectively.

The word *ādi* meaning *etcetra*, is to be joined with every one of the above three words. These three affixes come respectively after the verbs of the above three classes. Thus after the verbs of नन्द् class, comes the affix ल्यु; after the verbs of ग्रह class, comes the affix गिनि; after the verbs of पच् class, comes the affix अच्.

The नन्दादि verbs will not be found in one place in the Dhātupāṭha. The list of the words formed by these affixes have, however, been collected in the Gaṇapāṭha. Thus नन्द् + ल्यु = नन्द् + यु (I 3. 8) = नन्द + अन (VI. 1. 1) = नन्दन् nom. sing. नन्दनः 'son' (lit. what gladdens). So also from the following causa-

tive roots, nouns are formed, meaning names :—वासि—वासनः or वाशनः ; मदि—मदनः ; वृषि—वृषणः (or भूषणः) ; साधि—साधनः ; वधि—वधनः ; शोभि—शोभनः and रोचि—रोचनः.

The following derivatives are names :—सहि—सहनः ; तपि—तपनः ; इमि—इमनः

So also the following words :—जल्पनः, रमणः, र्षणः, संक्रन्वनः, संकर्षणः, संहर्षणः, जनार्दनः, यवनः, पवनः, मधुसूदनः, विमर्षणः, लवणः (the ण in लवण is irregular), चित्तविनर्शनः, कुलहमनः and शत्रुहमनः.

The महादि verbs are also nowhere enumerated in a group. The following are, however, those verbs :—ग्रह्—ग्रहिन् nom. ग्राही ; उत्सह्—उत्साहिन् nom. उत्साही ; उहस्—उहासिन् ; उद्गास्—उद्गासिन् ; स्था—स्थायिन् ; मन्त्र्—मन्त्रिन् ; संमर्ह्—संमर्हिन्. So also the verbs रक्ष, भ्रु, वस्, वप् and शा preceded by नि ; as, निरक्षिन्, निभ्राविन्, निवासिन्, निवापिन्, निशायिन्. The verbs ग्राचि, व्याह्, संव्याह्, व्रज्, वद and बस take णिन् when preceded by the negative particle ; as, अग्राचिन्, अव्याहारिन्, असंव्याहारिन्, अव्राजिन्, अवादिन् and अवासिन्. So also after verbs ending in a vowel when agents are non-conscious beings : as, अकारिन्, अहारिन्. So also, अविनायिन्, अविशायिन्, विशायिन्, विषयिन् (meaning a place) विशायिन् and विषायिन्, अभिभाविन् अपराधिन्, उपरोधिन्, परिभविन् and परिभाविन् ।

The following are पचादि words :—पच, वच, वप, वर, चज्, तप. पत नद्, भजद्, वस् गरद् भवद्, तरद्, जीरद्, पाहद्, जर, मर, क्षर, क्षम, सुद्, देवद्, मोरद्, सेव, मेघ, क्रोध, व्रण, वृश, वृश, दम्भ, जारभर, श्वपच, मेघ, कीष, क्षप, मर, रज, वीषद्, चरद् ।

The द् in नद् &c., shows that the feminine of these is formed by long ई (IV. 1. 15). The पचादि class is an आकृतिगणः ।

अडिवधिः सर्वधातुभ्यः पठ्यन्ते च पचादयः ।

अण् वाधनार्थमेवं स्यात् सिध्यन्ति श्वपचादयः ॥

In fact the affix अच् comes after all verbs, and is not exclusively confined to the verbs above enumerated. The affix अच्, therefore, debars अण् and may be taken to be the universal affix, and by its help the forms like श्वपच &c. may be explained.

इगुपधस्तप्रीकरः कः १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ इग्-उपध-क्षा-प्री-किरः,

कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इगुपधेभ्यो जानातेः प्रीणातेः किरत्तेश्च कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

135. After a verb ending in a consonant but preceded by इ, उ or ऋ (long or short), and after the verbs ज्ञा 'to know', प्री 'to please', and कृ 'to scatter', comes the affix क (अ).

Thus विज्ञिप् + क = विज्ञिप nom. sing. विज्ञिपः. So also विज्ञिखः 'inscription'; बुधः 'who knows'; कृशः 'lean'; ज्ञा + क = ज्ञः 'who knows' (VI. 4. 64); प्री + क =

प्रियः 'what pleases'; कू + क = कि + अ (VII. 1. 100) = किर + अ (I. 1. 51) = किरः 'who scatters' i. e. 'a hog'.

The words देव 'God', सेव 'service' and भेष 'ram', should be read in the पञ्चादि class of the last sūtra, being formed by the affix अच् and not by क.

आतश्चोपसर्गे १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तंभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

136. Also after a verb ending in long आ when there is a preposition along with it, the affix क is placed.

This is an *apavāda* of III. 1. 40, and debars the affix ए. Thus प्रस्था + क = प्रस्थ + अ = प्रस्थः (VI. 4. 64). सुग्नै + क = सुग्न + अ = सुग्नः 'very weary' (आ substituted for है by VI. 1. 45.) सुग्नै + क = सुग्न + अ = सुग्नः 'very languid'.

The final आ is dropped before the affix क by rule VI. 4. 64. There is elision of long आ when an ārdhadhātuka affix follows beginning with a vowel and having an indicatory क or ङ.

पाघ्राध्मा धेट् दृशः शः ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ पा-घ्रा-ध्मा-धेट्-दृशः, शः, (उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पादिभ्यो धातुभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जिघृतेः संज्ञायां प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

137. The affix श (अ) is employed after the roots पा 'to drink', घ्रा 'to smell', ध्मा 'to blow', धेट् 'suck', and दृश 'to see' when there is a preposition along with these roots.

Thus उत् + पा + श = उत् + पिब + अ (VII. 3. 78) = उत्पिब nom. sing. उत्पिबः ; so also विपिबः ; उज्जिघ्रूः and विजिघ्रूः । उत् + ध्मा + श = उत् + धम् + अ = (VII. 3. 78) ; उद्धमः ; विधमः ; उत् + धे + श = उद्धयः ; विधयः ; so also उत् + दृश् + श = उदृश्यः, (VII. 3. 78). so also विपश्यः ;

Some commentators do not read the word 'upasarga' into this sūtra. According to them the forms like पश्यः &c., can be formed also.

The affix श, of which श् is indicatory, the real affix being अ, causes the root to undergo all those changes, which it undergoes in special tenses ; for it is a sārvaadhātuka affix there ; see sūtra III. 4. 113 and VII. 3. 78.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated of the root घ्रा, when the word to be formed is a name. As वि + भा + घ्रा + क = व्याघ्रः 'tiger' (an animal that goes about smelling). Here there is क and not the affix श..

अनुपसर्गोल्लिप्पविन्दधारिपारिवेद्युदेजि चेति साति साहिभ्यश्च ॥
१३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुपसर्गात्, लिप्-विन्द-धारि-पारि-वेदि-उदेजि-चेति-
साति-साहिभ्यः, च (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गभ्यो लिप्पविभ्यः शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नौ लिप्पेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गवादिषु विन्दे संज्ञायाम् ॥

138. The affix श is employed after the following verbs when used without a preposition : लिप्, विन्द and the causatives धारि, पारि, वेदि, उदेजि, चेति, साति and साहि.

Thus लिप्: 'smearing'; विन्द: 'acquiring'; धारय: 'holding'; पारय: 'ferrying'; वेद्य: 'knowing'; उदेजय: 'shaking'; चेतय: 'perceiving'; सातय:, and साहय: .

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रलिप: ; here the affix is क.

Vart :—The verb लिप् with the preposition नि takes the affix श. As निलिप्सा 'the name of certain deities', 'a cow'.

Vart :—The affix श is employed after विन्द when compounded with the words गो &c. and when the word to be formed is a proper noun. As गोविन्द: 'Krishṇa' (protector of cows); अरविन्द: 'a lotus' (having petals like spokes).

ददाति दधात्योर्विभाषा ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ददाति-दधात्योः,
विभाषा, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दात्रो धात्रश्च विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

139. The affix श is optionally employed, after the root दा 'to give', and धा 'to hold', when used without a preposition.

This debars ह्य. Thus दद: 'giving'; or दाय: 'inheritance'; दध: 'holding' or धाय: 'having'.

When a preposition is used, the affix श is not employed ; as प्रदः, प्रधः.

उज्जलितिकसन्तेभ्यो शः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ उज्जल्-इति-कसन्तेभ्यः,
शः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उज्जल्लीसावित्येवमादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः कसगतावित्येवमन्तेभ्यो विभाषा शप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तनोर्बेण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

140. After the verbs beginning with उज्जल् 'to shine' and ending with कस् 'to go', when used without a preposition, the affix ण is optionally employed.

The word इति in इवलिति indicates beginning. These are about 56 verbs, all belonging to the *Bhādi* class. See N^o. 804 to 860 in the Dhātupātha, Bombay Edition in the Appendix, to Sīdhānta Kaumudī.

This debarb the affix अच्; as डवान्: or डवनः; चान्: or चनः.

The affix ए (अ) having an indicatory ए, causes the vṛiddhi of the penultimate अ. When the affix ए is not used, then अच् is used, and we have the other form. But compound verbs take अच्; as प्रडवलः 'luminous'.

Vart.—The verb तन 'to stretch' must be included in this list, and it takes the affix ए; as अवतान. The conditions 'option' and 'without preposition' do not apply in this case. The verb तन् necessarily takes this affix, though compounded with an upasarga.

श्याऽऽद्यधातुसंस्तृतीयावसावहृलिहश्लिषश्वसश्च ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि॥

श्या-आद्-व्यध-आस्तु-संस्तु-अतीण्-अवसा-अवहृ-लिह-श्लिष-श्वसः, च, (शः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्यैङ् आकारान्तेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यः व्यध आस्तु संस्तु अतीण् अवसा अवहृ लिह श्लिष श्वस इत्येतेभ्यश्च एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix ए is employed after the following verbs also :—श्यै 'to go', verbs ending in long आ, व्यध 'to pierce', आस्तु 'to pain', संस्तु 'to flow', अतीण् 'to pass on', अवसा 'to complete', अवहृ 'to take away', लिह 'to lick', श्लिष 'to embrace', and श्वस 'to breathe'.

The root श्यै, before affixes, becomes श्या, (VI. 1. 45) and is thus included in the phrase 'verbs ending in long आ. What is then the use of its separate enumeration? The separate enumeration is for the sake of excluding the application of every other rule which might have prohibited ए. Thus III, 1. 136 enjoins क् when a compound verb ends in आ. But that rule does not apply to the verb श्या.

Thus अवश्यायः 'frost', प्रतिश्यायः 'catarrh', श्यायः 'inheritance', धायः 'having', व्याधः 'pain', आस्त्रावः 'wound', संस्त्रावः 'flow', अत्रयायः 'transgression', अवसायः 'conclusion', अवहारः 'taken away', जेहः 'licking', श्लेषः 'embracing', श्वासः 'breath'. See VII. 3. 33.

दुन्योरनुपसर्गे ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दु-न्योः, अनुपसर्गे, (शः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुन्योर्नन्यतेभ्यश्चानुपसर्गे एप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix ए is employed after the verbs दू 'to burn', and नी 'to lead', when used without a preposition.

Thus वृ + ए = वी + अ (VII. 2. 115) = वावः (VI. 1. 78) 'burning'. So also नी + ए = नी + अ = नावः 'leading'.

Why do we say 'when used without a preposition'? Observe प्रवः 'burning'; प्रणयः 'friendship'.

विभाषा ग्रहः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, ग्रहः, (एः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषा ग्रहेर्धानोर्णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भवतेश्चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

143. The affix ए is optionally employed after the verb ग्रह् 'to seize'.

This debars the affix अच्. Thus ग्रह् + ए = ग्रह् + अ (VII. 2. 116) = ग्राहः 'seizing', 'a crocodile'; or ग्रह् + अच् = ग्रहः 'a planet'.

The option allowed by this aphorism is a *vyavasthita-vibhâshâ* or definite option, that is to say, the affix ए is *always* used, when the word to be formed means a water-animal, such as a crocodile, shark &c., and in that sense the word is ग्राह्. But not so, when heavenly luminaries are meant; there the word is ग्रह्.

Vart :—This rule should be extended to the root भू 'to be' also. Thus :—भावः 'condition' and भवः 'existence'.

गेहे कः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गेहे, कः, (ग्रहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहेर्धानोः कप्रत्ययो भवति गेहे कर्त्तरि ॥

144. The affix क is employed after the verb ग्रह् when the agent so expressed denotes a house.

Thus ग्रह् + क (VI. 1. 16) = गृहम् 'a house'. The र is changed into कृ by the rule of *samprasârana*. The plural form गृहः means 'wife', as she is especially the person that constitutes the house; while the plural of गृहं meaning 'house' will be गृहाणि.

शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शिल्पिनि, ष्वुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोः ष्वुन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ नृत्तिखनिरञ्जिभ्यः परिगणनं कर्त्तव्यम् ॥

145. The affix ष्वुन् (अक) comes after a verb, when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

Vart :—This affix should be confined to the verbs नृन् 'to dance', खन् 'to dig' and रञ्ज् 'to dye'.

Thus नृन् + ष्वुन् = नर्त + अक (VII. 1. 1) = नर्तकः 'dancer'. The letter व is indicatory (I. 3. 6) and by Rule IV. 1. 41, it denotes that words formed by pre-fixes having indicatory, ष्, form their feminine gender by the affix ङीष्. Thus

the feminine of नत्तक is नत्तकी; so also खनक: 'miner', fem. खनकी; रजक: 'washer-man', fem. रजकी.

In the case of the root रज्ज the nasal is elided. According to the opinion of the author of *Mahābhāṣya*, only two verbs are governed by this sūtra namely नृत् and खन्. According to him, the verb रज्ज takes the affix कुन्. Thus रज्ज + कुन् = रज् + वु (VI. 4. 37) = रज् + भक (VII. 1. 1) = रजकः, feminine रजकी.

गस्थकन् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ गः, यकन् (शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायनेस्थकन्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

146. The affix यकन्, (यक) comes after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed, denotes an artist.

As, गे + यकन् = गायकः (VI. 1. 45) 'a singer', fem. गायिका.

एयुट् च ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ एयुट्, च (गः, शिल्पिनि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायते एयुट्प्रत्ययो भवति शिल्पिनि कर्त्तरि ॥

147. The affix एयुट् is also employed after the verb गे 'to sing', when the agent so expressed denotes an artist.

By the word च 'also', the word ग्ग of the last sūtra is drawn into this. Thus गे + एयुट् = गा + भन (VII. 1. 1) = गायनः fem. गायनी; the च is added by VII. 3. 33.

The separation of these rules (*yoga-vibhāga*) relating to गे is for the purpose of the sūtras that follow. Had गस्थकन् and एयुट् च been made one aphorism, the *anuvṛitti* of both these affixes would have run into the subsequent sūtras. But it is intended that the *anuvṛitti* of एयुट् should only run, and hence this *yoga-vibhāga* or division of one sūtra into two.

हश्च ब्रीहिकालयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ हः, च, ब्रीहि-कालयोः,
(एयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जहातेर्जिहीतेश्च धातोर्एयुट् प्रत्ययो भवति ब्रीहौ काले च कर्त्तरि ॥

148. After the verb ह, also the affix एयुट् is employed when the agent so expressed denotes 'rice' and 'time'.

The verb ह denotes two verbs हाक 'to abandon' and हाङ् 'to go' both belonging to the Third Conjugation, forming जहाति and जिहीते as 3rd per. sing. Thus हा + एयुट् = हायनः 'a kind of rice' (that which *jahāti* 'leaves off' all water) हायनः 'a year' (that which *jihīte* 'goes through' all conditions.)

The accents are however different in the two. In one case the udatta is on the middle ; in the other, on the last.

**प्रुस्र(स्र)स्वः समभिहारे वुन् ॥ १४९ ॥ यदानि ॥ प्रु-स्र-(स्र)-स्वः,
समभिहारे, वुन् ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रु स्र (स्र) लू इत्येतयो धातुभ्यः समभिहारे वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. After the verbs प्रु 'to go', स्र 'to move', लू 'to flow' and लू 'to cut', the affix वुन् is employed, when repetition is meant.

As, प्रु + वुन् = प्रो + अक (VII. 1. 1) = प्रवकः ; so also, सरकः, स्रवकः, and लवकः.

The word *samabhihāra* in the sūtra indicates that the action done by the agent must be well performed. The affix *vun* being thus ordained for the action, when it is well performed, it follows, that it will not be employed where the action is repeatedly ill performed. The affix will be employed even when there is no repetition but the action is well performed even at the first attempt.

आशिषि च ॥ १५० ॥ यदानि ॥ आशिषि, च, (वुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां धातुमात्राद् वुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix वुन् is employed after all verbs, when benediction is intended.

As, जीव् + वुन् = जीवकः 'may he live' ; नन्त्रकः 'may he be happy'.

The word आशिषि means a sort of prayer ; and it relates to action. The force of this affix is that of 'an agent with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent'.

ओ३म् अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य द्वितीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER II.

—10:—

कर्मण्यण् ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अण्, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वत्र कर्मण्युपपदे धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ शीञ्जिकामिभ्यां चरिभ्यो णः पूर्वपदप्रकृतिस्वरत्वं च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईक्षिभिमिभ्यां चेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

1. The affix अण् comes after a verbal root when the object, (of whatever sort it may be), is in composition with it, (as an upapada).

The object or karma is of three sorts, namely *nivartya*, *vikārya* and *prāpya*.

The object which has a material cause, but such cause is however unexpressed in the sentence, is called *nivartya* object ; as कुम्भम् करोति 'he makes a pot' ; here मृत् 'mud' the material cause of कुम्भ is unexpressed, therefore, कुम्भ is *nivartya* object. Where the material cause itself is changed, by a modification, into something else, such an object is called *vikārya* object ; as काण्डजावः 'the branch-cutter'. While the object which cannot be approached by any action, and is not affected by it, but is always constant, is called the *prāpya* object ; as वेदाध्यायः 'the reading of Veda' ; the Veda is always the same.

They will be illustrated by the following examples :—Of the first kind, we have कुम्भकारः 'a potter' and नगरकारः 'a city-builder' ; of the second, we have काण्डजावः 'a branch-cutter' and शरजावः 'a reed-cutter'. Of the third, वेदाध्यायः 'the learning of Veda' and चर्चावाटः 'the reading of 'Charchā'. But compound nouns cannot be formed of such sentences as ग्रामं गच्छति 'he goes to the village', आदित्यं पश्यति 'he sees the sun', 'हिमवतं शृणोति 'he hears the Himavat'. The reason is that it is against the usage of the language to form nouns out of these.

• *Vart*:—The affix ण comes after the verbs शीञ्, काम्, भक्ष् and आचर् and the noun in composition with it, retains its original accent. As मांसशीञ्जः 'addicted to flesh', fem. मांसशीञ्जा ; मांसकामः 'loving flesh', fem. मांसकामा ; मांसभक्षः 'carnivorous', fem. मांसभक्षा ; and कल्याणाचरः 'good-conducted', fem. कल्याणाचारा ;

Vart:—The affix ए comes after the roots ह्रीक्ष 'to look' and क्षम् 'to forbear' under similar circumstances. 'As सुखप्रतीक्षा; fem. सुखप्रतीक्षा 'expecting happiness'; बहुक्षमः fem. बहुक्षमा 'much forbearing'.

हावामश्च ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ हा, वा, मः, च, (अण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ह्रीञ्, वेञ्, माङ्, एतेभ्यश्च कर्मण्युपपदे णप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

2. The affix अण् comes after the root ह्रीञ् 'to call', वेञ् 'to weave', माङ् 'to measure', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars the affix क (III. 2. 3); as स्वर्गं + ह्री + अण् = स्वर्गं + हा + अ = स्वर्गं + हाय + अ (VII. 3. 33) = स्वर्गं हायः (the य is added by rule VII. 3. 33, 'when a kṛit affix with an indicatory ए or म follows, the augment य is added after the verbs that end in long अ'). So also तन्तुवायः, धान्यमायः ।

आतोऽनुपसर्गे कः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, अनुपसर्गे, कः,

(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

3. The affix क comes after a verbal root that ends in long आ when there is no upasarga preceding it and when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्; as गां + दा + क = गां + द + अ = गोद 'Giver of cows', (the long आ is elided by VI. 4. 64.)= So also, कम्बलदः 'who gives a blanket'; पार्श्वरक्षम् 'what protects the rear'; अङ्गुलित्रम् 'what protects the finger' (a thimble).

Why do we say 'when there is no upasarga'? Witness गोसंदायः 'who ceremoniously gives a cow', वडवसंदाय 'who ceremoniously gives a mare'. Here the compound verb संदा takes the affix अण्.

सुपि स्थः ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, स्थः, (कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुबन्त उपपदे तिष्ठते कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, as an upapada.

In the three previous sūtras, the word in composition was always in the accusative case. This sūtra declares that with regard to the verb स्था, the upapada may have any case not necessarily the accusative. As समस्थः = समे तिष्ठति 'who dwells in accessible position'; and विषमस्थः 'having an inaccessible position'.

This sūtra should be divided into two sūtras (yoga-bibhāga). Thus:—

- (1) सुप्ति ॥ The affix क comes after every root ending in long आ, when in composition with a case-inflected word ; as द्वाभ्यां पिवति = द्वि + पा + क = द्विपः (VI. 4. 64) 'who drinks with two organs' i.e. the proboscis and the mouth, an elephant'. So also पादपः 'a plant' (what drinks through the foot). कच्छपः 'a tortoise' (that always *protects* its *mouth* by drawing it in, at the approach of danger).
 (2) सुप्तिस्थ. ॥ The affix क comes after the root स्था when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix. Why do we make this two-fold division, when we see the second rule is included in the first as the verb स्था also ends in a long आ ? The reason is that the first rule applies where the agent is indicated, while the second rule applies where condition is to be denoted. As आखनान्मुरथानम् = आखदुथः 'a swarm of rats'; so also शलभोत्थः 'a swarm of locusts'.

Both the words कर्मणि and सुप्ति are understood in the sūtras that follow: viz: the word कर्मणि in sūtras that relate to transitive verbs, and the word सुप्ति everywhere else.

तुन्दशोकयोः परिमृजापनुदोः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुन्द-शोकयोः,
 परिमृज-अपनुदोः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तुन्दशोकयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः परिमृजापनुदोर्धात्वोः कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आज्ञस्यसुखाहरणयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कप्रकरणे मूलविभुजादिभ्य उपसंख्यानम् ॥

5. The affix क comes after the verbs परिमृज् 'to wash out' and अपनुद् 'to drive away', when in composition with the words तुन्द 'navel' and शोक 'grief', as objects, respectively.

As तुन्द परिमृज् आस्ते 'he lay lazy'. So also शोकापनुद् पुत्रो जातः 'a son, destroyer of sorrow is born'.

Vart.—This affix is to be applied only then, when the meaning of the word to be formed is 'lazy' and 'giver of happiness'.

Vart.—The epithet तुन्द परिमृजः is applied to a lazy person ; while तुन्द परिमार्जः means who clears his navel. So शोकापनुद् means giver of happiness, while शोकापनोद् means 'removal of sorrow'.

Vart.—The words मूलविभुजः 'a chariot' and the rest should be included in the subdivision of words formed by the affix क. The words belonging to this head can only be recognised by their form, there being no list of them to be found anywhere. Thus मूलविभुजः 'a chariot', नखमुषः 'a bow', काकगृह 'sesamums', कुमुदम् (कौ मोदते) 'a lotus'.

प्रेदाञ्चः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि, ॥ प्रे, दा-ञ्चः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ददातेर्जानातेश्च धातोः प्रेणोपसृष्टात् कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

6. The affix 'क' comes after the root दा 'to give' and ज्ञा 'to know', when taking the preposition प्र and in composition with a word in the accusative case.

We applied by sūtra 3 the affix क after verbs that ended in long आ and had no *upasarga*. Now begins the case of verbs with *upasarga*. This debars the affix अण् ; as सर्वप्रदः (VI. 4. 64) 'giver of all ; liberal', पथिप्रज्ञः (VI. 4. 64) 'acquainted with roads'. The long आ of दा and ज्ञा is elided by VI. 4. 64.

Why do we say 'when taking प्र'? With any other *upasarga* these verbs will take the general affix अण् ; as गोसंदाय.

सनिख्यः ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि सनि, ख्यः, (कर्मणि, कः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संपूर्वात् ख्या इत्येतस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix क comes after the root ख्या 'to tell', when preceded by the preposition सम्, and when the object is in composition with it.

The verb ख्या ends in long आ and by III. 2. 3 when compounded with an *upasarga*, it would have taken the affix अण्. This debars अण् ; as गोसंख्य (VI. 4. 64) 'a cowherd' (गा संचडे).

गापोऽटक् ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ गा-पोः, टक्, (कर्मणि, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गायतेः पिवतेश्च धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे अनुपसर्गे टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सुराशीध्वोः पिवतेरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ बहुलं छन्दसि इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

8. The affix टक् comes after the verbs गे 'to sing' and पा 'to drink' when used without a preposition, and when the object is in composition with it.

The phrase *anupāsarga* is to be read again into this sūtra by *anuvritti* from sūtra 3, though this *anuvritti* had temporarily lain dormant in sūtra 6 and 7. as being unnecessary. This debars क ; of this affix ट् and क are indicatory the ट् showing 'among others' that the feminine is formed by the affix ङीप् (IV. 1. 14)

As, शक्रं गायति = शक्र + गा + टक् = शक्रगः (VI. 4. 64) 'who sings Sakra hymns'. सामगः 'singer of Sāma'. fem. शक्रगी and सामगी ।

Vart.—The affix टक् comes after the verb पा when it means to drink and only when it is in composition with the words सुरा and शीघ्र as its object,

This is an important modification of the general sūtra. Thus सुरापः fem. सुरापी 'wine-bibber'; शीधुपः fem. शीधुपी 'spirit-drinker'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with surā and sidhu'? Observe ब्रीरपा ब्राह्मणी 'the milk-drinking Brāhmaṇi'; formed by the affix क and the feminine, therefore, not formed by the affix ई but by आ.

Why do we say 'when पा means to drink'? When पा means 'to protect' this affix is not used; as सुरापा 'who protects wine'.

When these words are compounded with an *upasarga* they do not take टक् but अण्; as शक्रसंगायः, सामसंगायः ।

Vart.—There is diversity in the Chhandas as to the employment of these affixes; as वा ब्राह्मणी सुरापी or सुरापा भवति नाना देवाः पतिलोकं नयन्ति 'the gods do not carry that Brāhmaṇi to the regions of her husband who drinks wine'.

हरतेरनुद्यमनेऽच् ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, अनुद्यमने, अच्,
(कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हरतेर्धातोरनुद्यमने वर्त्तमानात् कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अच्प्रकरणे शक्तिलांगलांकुशयष्टितोमरघटघटीधनुषु ग्रहंरूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सूत्रेच धार्यर्थे ॥

9. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृन् when it does not mean 'to raise up', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The word उद्यमन means 'to raise a load'. Thus भगं हरति = भगहरः 'who takes a share, or sharer'; so रिक्थहरः 'an heir'. (हृ + अच् = हर् + अ = हरः) (VII. 3. 84).

Why do we say 'when it does not mean to raise up'? For then the affix अण् will be employed; as भारहरः 'a burden-bearer, a porter'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when in composition with the words शक्ति 'spear', लाङ्गल 'plough', अंकुश 'goad', यष्टि 'staff', तोमर 'an iron club', घट 'jar', घटी 'a small jar', धनुष् 'a bow'; as शक्तिग्रहः 'a lancer', लाङ्गलग्रहः 'a plough-man', अंकुशग्रहः 'an elephant driver', यष्टिग्रहः 'a staff-bearer', तोमरग्रहः 'a club-bearer', घटग्रहः, घटीग्रहः 'a jar-bearer', धनुग्रहः 'a bow-bearer'.

Vart.—This affix comes after the verb ग्रह् when the word सूत्र is in composition with it and the sense is that of 'holding'; as सूत्रग्रहः 'a thread-holder'. When it has not this meaning we have सूत्रग्राहः 'a thread-taker'.

वयसि च ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ वयसि, च, (हरतेः, कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वयसि गम्यमाने हरतेः कर्मण्युपपदे ऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

10. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृच् when the object is in composition with it and when the meaning of the word to be formed is descriptive of age.

In this sūtra the verb हृच् has the sense of *udyamana* which was specifically excluded in the last. The word वयस् means the condition of human body as dependent upon time. This rule applies to those words which indicate the attainment of appropriate age for the accomplishment of objects described by the *upapada*, or the reaching of that age in which the thing described by the *upapada* naturally takes place ; as अस्थिहरः 'the dog that has reached the age when it can chew bones' (lit. when it can raise it up) ; कवचहरः क्षत्रियकुमारः 'the Kshatriya boy old enough to wear (lit. 'to raise up or bear) the shield' ; so that the verb here has the sense of 'raising up'.

आङि ताच्छील्ये ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ आङि, ताच्छील्ये, (कर्मणि, ह-
रतेः, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आङ् पूर्वाद्धरतेः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

11. The affix अच् comes after the verb हृच् (when the object is in composition with it), the root taking the preposition आच्, and the sense of the word to be formed is inclination or accustomed occupation.

The word ताच्छील्यं means a natural inclination or habitual occupation ; as पुष्पाहरः (पुष्प + आहरति = पुष्प + आहर) 'he who has a natural tendency towards fetching flowers or whose habitual occupation is to collect flowers' ; so also फलाहारः ।

Why do we say 'when denoting inclination' ? Otherwise the affix will be अण् ; as भारमाहरति = भारमाहारः 'who brings load'.

अर्हः ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अर्हः, (कर्मणि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अर्हं पूजायां, अस्माद्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदेऽच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

12. The affix अच् comes after the verb अर्ह 'to respect', when the object is in composition with it.

This debars अण्. The words so formed are especially of feminine gender. As पूजार्हा 'deserving of respect' ; so also गन्धार्या, माजार्हा ।

स्तम्बकर्णयो रमिजपोः ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-कर्णयोः, रमि-
जपोः, (सुप्ति, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बकर्ण इत्येतयोः सुबन्तयोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं रमिजपोर्धातोरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इतिसूचकयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

13. The affix अच् comes after the verb रन् 'to sport' and जप् 'to whisper' when the case-inflected words स्तम्भ 'a clump of grass' and कर्ण 'ear' are in composition with them respectively.

The verb रन् is intransitive and the verb जप् can take an object under very limited circumstances, only namely when the object denotes *Sabdu*; therefore in the case of both these verbs, the object cannot be in composition as an accusative case; therefore, the *upapada* here must be a general case-inflected word. Hence we have read the anuvṛitti of the word सुप् from sūtra 4 into this, the anuvṛitti of the word कर्म being inapplicable here.

Vart.—The words to be formed must have the sense of 'elephant' and a 'tale-bearer'. Thus स्तम्भेरमने = स्तम्भेरमः 'an elephant (lit. who sports in cluster of grass)' कर्णे जपति = कर्णेजपः 'a slanderer (lit. who whispers in the ear)'.

The affix अच् is not employed when the words to be formed do not mean an 'elephant' and a 'traducer'. Thus स्तम्भे रन्ता 'who plays in clusters of grass'. कर्णे जपिता मशकः 'the mosquito that hums near the ear'.

शमि धातोः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शमि, धातोः, सं-
ज्ञायाम्, (अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शम्युपपदे धातुमात्रासंज्ञायां विषये ऽयमवश्यो भवति ॥

14. The affix अच् is employed after the verbal roots when शम् 'well', is in composition, and the word to be formed denotes a name.

As शम् + कृ + अच् = शंकरः lit. 'who does good'. So also संभवः संवद्. All these are proper nouns.

Why have we repeated the word *dhātu* in this aphorism, when it was understood by anuvṛitti from sūtra III. 1. 91? To this the reply is, that the repetition of the word *dhātu* shows that there is prohibition of the affix ट, that comes after the verb कृ in certain senses (III. 2. 20), when the word शम् is in composition. The affix अच् will be employed after the verb कृ and not the affix ट, when शम् is an *upapada*, even when the sense to be indicated is that of cause, habit &c. (III. 2. 20). The result is that the feminine of शंकर will be शंकरा, and not शंकरी, which, had the affix been ट, would have been the proper feminine (See IV. 1. 14). शंकरा means 'a female-ascetic', 'a vulture' and 'one having the habit of doing good'.

अधिकरणे शेतेः ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणे, शेतेः, (सुपि, अच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शोतेर्धातोर्धिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽष्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पार्श्वदिष्पुसंख्यानम् ॥ १

वार्तिकम् ॥ दिग्धसहपूर्वाच्च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उत्तानादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ गिरौ डच्छन्वसि ॥

15. The affix **भच्** comes after the verb **शी** 'to lie down' when in composition with a case-inflected word indicating location, i. e., in the locative case.

The word **सूप** (III. 2. 4) a noun ending in a case-affix is understood in this aphorism. As **खे शेते = खरायः** 'who lies in the sky'.

Vart.—The affix **भच्** comes after the verb **शी** when in composition with the words **पार्श्व** 'ribs', &c., though not necessarily denoting location; as **पार्श्वभ्यां शेते = पार्श्वरायः** 'who reclines on his sides', **उदररायः** 'who lies on his stomach', **पृष्ठरायः** 'who lies on his back'.

Vart.—And when the verb **शी** is preceded by the word **दिग्धसह**; as **दिग्धेन सह शेते = दिग्धसहरायः** ॥

Vart.—So also when the words **उत्तान** &c. are in composition with it denoting agent and in the nominative case. As **उत्तानः शेते = उत्तानशयः । भवमूर्त्ता शेते = भवमूर्त्तशयः ।**

Vart.—In the Chhandas the affix **डच्** comes after the verb **शी** when in composition with the word **गिरि** in the locative. As **गिरौ शेते = गिरिशः** 'who lies on the mountain'.

The letter **ड** of **डच्** is indicatory denoting that there is elision of the final vowel with what follows it (I. 1. 64).

चरेष्टः ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ चरेः, टः, (अधिकरणे, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चरेर्धातोर्धिकरणे सुबन्त उपपदे ऽप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix **च** comes after the verb **चर** 'to go' when a case-inflected word in composition with it, denotes location.

The word *adhiarana* of the last sūtra is understood in this. As **कुरुषु चरति = कुरुचरः** 'who goes among the Kurus'. **मद्रचरः** 'who goes among the Madras'.

Of the affix **च** the real affix is **भ**, the letter **च** being indicatory, showing that the feminine of these words is formed by the affix **ङीप्**. (Sec. IV. 1. 14), as **कुरुचरी**, **मद्रचरी** ।

भिक्षासेनादायेषु च ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ भिक्षा-सेना-आदायेषु,
च, (चरेः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिक्षा सेना आदाय इत्येतेषूपपदेषु चरन्तीतिटप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. The affix ट is employed after the verb चर् 'to go', when the words in composition with it are भिक्षा 'alms', सेना 'army' and आदाय 'having taken'.

The *anuvritti* of the words 'in the locative case' does not extend to this aphorism, and hence the necessity of making a distinct and separate sūtra.

Thus भिक्षाचरः 'a beggar' (who goes for alms); सेनाचरः 'one who goes with an army'; आदायचरः 'one who goes after having taken'.

पुरोग्रतोऽग्रेषु सर्तैः ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरस्-अग्रतस्-अग्रेषु, सर्तैः,
(टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुरस् अग्रतस् अग्रे इत्येतेषूपपदेषु सतन्तीतिटप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix ट comes after the verb ह 'to move' when the words in composition with it, are पुरः, अग्रतः and अग्रे, all meaning 'in front of or before'.

As पुरः सरति = पुरःसरः 'who goes in front, a harbinger'. So also अग्रतः सरः and अग्रसरः 'going in front, a leader'.

पूर्वं कर्त्तरि ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूर्वं, कर्त्तरि, (सर्तैः, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वशब्दे कर्त्तृवाचिन्युपपदे सतन्तीतिटप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. The affix ट comes after the verb ह 'to go', when पूर्व is in composition with it, denoting the agent.

Thus पूर्वः सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going in front'.

Why do we say 'denoting the agent'? Otherwise the affix अण् will be employed. As पूर्वदेशं सरति = पूर्वसरः 'going to the east'.

कञो हेतुताच्छील्यानुलोम्येषु ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ कञः, हेतु-ता-
च्छील्य-आनुलोम्येषु, (कर्मणि, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे करोतीतिटप्रत्ययो भवति हेतो ताच्छील्ये आनुलोम्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

20. The affix ट comes after the verb कृम् 'to make' when the object is in composition with it denoting cause, habit and going with the grain (concession).

The word हेतु of this sūtra means the final or conclusive cause, and is not the grammatical हेतु meaning agent. ताच्छील्य means habit, and literally, the

act of being accustomed to that. **आनुलोम्य** comes from **अनुलोम** meaning 'with the hair', that is to say, regular, in 'natural order, successive, and hence favourable, and agreeable complaisance, acquiescence &c. Of **हेतु**, we have **शोककरी कन्या** 'the daughter that causes sorrow'; **यशस्करी विद्या** 'honorable science'; **कुलकरं धनं** 'the family making wealth'. Of **ताच्छील्य**, we have **श्राद्धकरः** 'who performs obsequies'; **सुधकरः** 'who amasses wealth'. Of **आनुलोम्य**, we have **प्रेषकरः** 'who promptly does what he is directed'; **वचनकरः** 'who regularly does what he is told'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Otherwise the affix will be **अण्**. As **कुम्भकारः** 'potter', **नगरकारः** 'city-maker'.

**दिवाविभानिशप्रभाभास्कारान्तानन्तादिबहुनान्दीकिंलिपिलिबि-
बलिभक्तिवर्तचित्रक्षेत्रसंख्याजङ्घाबाह्वहयत्तदुनुरुष्ण ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥
दिवा-विभा-निशा-प्रभा-भास्-कार-अन्त-अनन्त-आदि-बहु-नान्दी-किं-लिपि-
लिबि-बलि-भक्ति-कर्तृ-चित्र-क्षेत्र-संख्या-जङ्घा-बाहु-अहः-यत्-तत्-धनुस्-अ-
रुष्ण, (कर्मणि, सुपि, करोते, टः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ दिवादिषूपपदेषु करोतेर्धातोदप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किं यत्तद्वहुषु कृजोऽज्विधुनम् ॥

21. The affix **ट** comes after the verb **कृ** 'to make' when the following words are in composition with it:—**दिवा** 'by day', **विभा** 'light', **निशा** 'night', **प्रभा** 'splendour', **भाः** 'light', **कार** 'work', **अन्त** 'end', **अनन्त** 'endless', **आदि** 'beginning', **बहु** 'many', **नान्दी** 'benediction', **किम्** 'what', **लिपि** 'writing', **लिबि** 'writing', **बलि** 'oblation', **भक्ति** 'devotion', **कर्तृ** 'agent', **चित्र** 'painting', **क्षेत्र** 'field', words denoting numerals, **जङ्घा** 'thigh', **बाहु** 'hand', **अहः** 'day', **यत्** 'what', **तत्** 'that', **धनुस्** 'bow' and **अरुस्** 'wound'.

Both the words '*karma*' and '*sup*' are understood in this aphorism; that is to say, sometimes these *upapadas* stand as accusative case and sometimes they have other cases, as the construction may require. This affix **ट** comes when the sense is not that of cause &c., as it was in the last *sūtra*.

Thus **दिवाकरः** 'the sun.' The word **दिवा** is an indeclinable and means 'in the day time'. There the *upapada*, therefore, is in the locative case. The sun is so called, because it makes creatures active in the day time.

So **विभाकरः** 'the sun' (light-maker); **निशाकरः** 'the moon' (the night-maker); **प्रभाकरः** 'the sun'; **भास्करः** 'the sun' (the letter **स** is not changed into *visarga*, as it has been so read in the *sūtra*); **कारकरः** 'agent'; **अन्तकरः** 'death' (end-maker); **अनन्तकरः** 'magnifying to any extent'; **आदिकरः** 'the creator'; **बहुकरः** 'the busy'; **नान्दीकरः** 'the speaker of benediction'; **किंकरः** 'a servant'; **लिपिकरः** 'a

scribe'; लिखिकरः 'a scribe'; बलिकरः 'offering sacrifice'; भक्तिकरः 'a devotee'; कर्तृकरः 'an agent'; चित्रकरः 'a painter'; क्षेत्रकरः 'a cultivator'; एककरः 'doing only one thing'; द्विकरः 'doing two things'; त्रिकरः 'doing three things'; जङ्घाकरः 'a runner, an express'; बाहुकरः 'a hero', 'a manual labourer'; अहस्करः 'the sun'; तत्करः 'doing that'; यत्करः 'doing that'; धनुस्करः 'bow-maker'; अहस्करः 'causing or inflicting wounds'.

Vart.—The affix अच् comes after the verb कृ when किम्, यत्, तद् and बहु are in composition with it. The speciality of इ affix is that the feminine of words derived from it is formed by long ई; while the feminine of words derived by अच् is formed by long आ. Thus किंकरा, यत्करा, तत्करा and बहुकरा; these words might be said to belong to the अजादि class (See IV. I. 31).

कर्मणि भृतौ ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, भृतौ, (कर्मणि, करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मशब्द उपपदे कर्मवान्नि करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो भवति भृतौ गम्यमानायाम् ॥

22. The affix इ comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the word कर्म is in composition with it, and the sense of the word to be formed is that of wages.

The word भृति means service for hire, wages. The word कर्म does not mean the grammatical object but the word-form कर्म; as कर्मकरः 'a hired labourer' (not a slave); otherwise the affix is अण्; as कर्मकारः 'an artisan'.

न शब्दश्लोककलहगाथावैरचाटुसूत्रसंत्रपदेषु ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥

न, शब्द-श्लोक-कलह-गाथा-वैर-चाटु-सूत्र-संत्र-पदेषु, (करोते, टः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शब्दादिषूपपदेषु करोतेष्टप्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

23. The affix इ does not come after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it:—शब्द 'sound', श्लोक 'verse', कलह 'quarrel', गाथा 'praise', वैर 'enmity', चाटु 'flattery', सूत्र 'thread', मन्त्र 'hymns' and पद 'word'.

This prohibition relates even when the sense is that of cause, habit &c. The affix इ being prohibited, the general affix अण् takes its place. As शब्दकारः 'sounding, sonorous'; श्लोककारः 'a verse-maker'; कलहकारः 'one who foments quarrels'; गाथाकारः 'a writer of Gāthās or prakrītee verses'; वैरकारः 'an enemy'; चाटुकारः 'a flatterer'; सूत्रकारः 'an author of sūtras'; मन्त्रकारः 'a composer of Mantras'; पदकारः 'an author of Padapāthā'.

स्तम्बशकृतीरिन् ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्ब-शकृतोः, इन्, (क-
र्मेणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्ब शकृत् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोरिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अंहिवस्तयोरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

24. The affix इन् comes after the verb कृ when the objects in composition with it, are the words स्तम्ब 'a sheaf', and शकृत् 'ordure'.

Thus स्तम्ब + कृ + इन् = स्तम्बकरि nom. sing. स्तम्बकरिः ; so also शकृत् करिः.

Vart.—This rule is applicable when the sense of the words to be formed, is that of 'rice' and 'a calf' respectively. Therefore स्तम्बकरिः means 'rice', and शकृत् करिः, 'a calf'.

When the words have not the senses of 'rice' and 'a calf', the affix भण् is employed. As स्तम्बकारः 'sheaf-maker', शकृत्कारः 'ordure-maker'.

हरतेर्दृतिनाथयोः पशौ ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ हरतेः, दृति-नाथयोः,
पशौ, (कर्मेणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृति नाथ इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः हरतेर्धातोः पशौ कर्तरि इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. When the agent indicated is an animal, the affix इन् comes after the verb हृ 'to take', the object in composition with it being the words दृति 'a leather-bag' and नाथ 'a master'.

Thus दृतिहरिः 'a dog' (a carrier of skin); नाथहरिः 'a beast' (that carries its master).

When the words formed do not denote an animal, the affix भण् is employed ; as दृतिहारः 'a water-carrier' (a carrier of a leather-bag for holding water). नाथहारः 'a carrier of his master'.

फलेग्रहिरात्मम्भरिश्च ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ फलेग्रहिः-आत्मम्भरिः,

च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ फलेग्रहिः आत्मम्भरिः इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपातयेते ॥

26. And the words फलेग्रहि and आत्मम्भरि are irregularly formed.

The word फलेग्रहिः is formed by adding the affix इन् to the verb ग्रह् and making the upapada end in the vowel ए. Thus फलानि गृह्णाति = फलेग्रहिः 'the fruit-bearing i. e. a tree'.

The word आत्मभरिः is formed by adding the augment सुम् (स) to the upapada आत्म, and the affix इन् to the verb भृश्. Thus आत्मानं विभर्ति = आत्मभरिः 'selfish' (one who feeds his own self).

The word 'and' indicates that there are other such irregularly-formed words. As कुक्षिभरिः 'gluttonous, selfish' (caring to feed his own belly). उदरभरिः 'gluttonous, selfish'.

छन्दसि वनसनरक्षिमयाम् ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, वन-सन-रक्षि-मयाम्, (कर्मणि, इन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वन सन संभक्तौ, रक्ष पालनं, मथ विजोडने, एतन्मः कर्तव्युपपदे छन्दसि विशेषे इन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. In the Vedic literature, the affix इन् comes after the verbs वन् 'to honor' सन् 'to worship' रक्ष् 'to protect' and मथ् 'to agitate', when the object is in composition.

Thus ब्रह्मवतिं व्वा क्षत्रवनिम् (Vaj. San. I. 17., V. 12., VI. 3) ; उत नो गोषनि (Rig. Ved. VI. 53. 10) यै ते इशानौ पथिरक्षा (Rig. Ved. X. 14. 11) इन्द्रा यातूनामभवत् पारारादौ इविर्वयीनाम् (Rig. Ved. VII. 104. 21).

एजेः खश् ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ एजेः, खश्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एज् कम्पने इत्यस्माद् प्यन्तात्कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खश्प्रत्यये वातगुनीतिशब्देष्वजधेदुत्पन्नशब्देनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

28. The affix खश् comes after the verb एज् 'to tremble' when ending in णि (III. 26.) and when the object is in composition with it.

This affix comes after the causative of एज्. Of the affix खश् the letters ख् and श् are indicatory, the real affix is अ. The ख् indicates that the augment सुम् is added to the upapada ending in a vowel (VI. 3. 67). The श् indicates that this is a Sārvadhātuka affix (III. 4. 113), and therefore the vikaraṇas like शप् &c. (III. 1. 68.) will be employed here. Thus अङ्गमेज्जति = अङ्गमेजयः (अङ्ग + एजि + शप् + खश् = अङ्गम् + एजे + अ + अ) 'who awes the limbs'; जनमेजयः 'who awes mankind'.

Vart:—The affix खश् comes after the verbs अज् 'to go', धेद् 'to suck', तुद् 'to strike', हा 'to leave' when in composition with the words वात 'wind', शुनी 'a bitch', तिल 'sesamum' and शर्द्वे 'flatulence'. As वातमजाः शृगाः 'swift antelopes' (going with the wind); शुनिन्धयः 'a bitch-sucker'; तिलस्तुद् 'an oilman'; शर्द्वेज्जहा माषाः 'a kind of bean' (that causes or cures flatulence). The long ई of शुनी is shortened by VI. 3. 66.

नासिकास्तनयोर्ध्माधेटोः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ नासिका-स्तनयोः,
ध्मा-धेटोः, (कर्मणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नासिकास्तनयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्ध्माधेटोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ स्तने धेटः ॥ नासिकायां तु ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥

29. The affix खश् comes after the verbs ध्मा 'to blow' and धे 'to suck' when नासिका 'nose', and स्तन 'breast', are in composition with them as object.

The rule of *yathāśankhyā* as given in I. 3. 10 does not however, apply here. For स्तन is compounded with धेट्; as (स्तन + धे + खश् = स्तन + मुम् + धे + शप् + खश् = स्तन + म् + धय् + अ + अ) = स्तनन्धयः 'an infant' (sucking the breast).

But नासिका is compounded with both ध्मा and धे; as नासिका + ध्मा + खश् = नासिक + म् + धम + अ (VI. 3. 66 and 67; VII. 3. 78) = नासिकं धमः 'blowing and breathing through the nose'. So also नासिकं धयः 'drinking through the nose'.

That the rule of *yathāśankhyā* does not apply here, is indicated by the irregular construction of the *Dvandva* compound नासिकास्तनयोः. By rule II. 2. 84. the word स्तन containing fewer syllables ought to have stood first; one irregularity lets in another.

The feminine of स्तनन्धयः is स्तनन्धयी; as the verb धे has an indicatory ट्.

नाडीमुष्टयोश्च ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ नाडी-मुष्टयोः, च, (कर्मणोः,
ध्मा-धेटोः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाडी मुष्टि इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्ध्माधेटोः खश् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. And when the words नाडी 'a tube' and मुष्टि 'fist' are objects in composition with the verbs ध्मा and धे, the affix खश् is employed.

Here also the irregularly-formed *Dvandva* compound नाडीमुष्टि shows the non-applicability of the rule of *yathāśankhyā*; for मुष्टि being a पि ought to have stood first (II. 2. 32).

Thus नाडिन्धमः 'blowing through the tube'; मुष्टिन्धमः 'blowing through the fist'; नाडिन्धयः 'sucking through the tube', an infant; मुष्टिन्धयः 'an infant'.

The word 'and' in the aphorism indicates that there are other words also so formed. Thus घटिन्धमः, घटिन्धयः, खारिन्धमः, खारिन्धयः, वातन्धमः, वातन्धयः, 'a mountain'.

This sūtra is not Pāṇini's, but is really a Vārtika, raised to the rank of a sūtra by the author of the Kāśikā. The Vārtikakāra divides the last sūtra in this way: (1) स्तने धेटः ॥ (2) ततो मुष्टौ ध्मश्च ॥ (3) नासिकायां ध्मश्च धेटश्च ॥ (4) नाडी मुष्टि योर्ध्माधेटोर्ध्माधेटोः वक्तव्यम् ॥

उदि कूले रुजिवहोः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, कूले, रुजि-वहोः,
(खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रुजो भङ्गे, वह प्रापणे, एताभ्यामुत्पूर्वाभ्यां कूले कर्मण्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix खश् comes after the verbs रुज् 'to break into pieces' and वह 'to carry', when preceded by the upasarga उत्, and the word कूल 'bank' is in composition with them as the object.

Thus कूलमुज्जति = कूलमुज्जः 'breaking down banks' (such as a chariot, river, elephant, &c.); कूलमुद्रहः 'tearing up or carrying away the bank'.

वहास्रे लिहः ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वह-अस्रे, लिहः ॥ (खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वह अश् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः लिहेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

32. The affix खश् comes after the verb लिह 'to lick' when the object in composition with it, is the word वह 'the shoulder of an ox' or अश् 'a cloud'.

As वहलिहो गोः 'the shoulder-licking cow'; अश्लिहो वायुः 'the cloud-licking wind'.

परिमाणे पचः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाणे, पचः, (कर्मेणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणं प्रस्थापि, तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपदे पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

33. The affix खश् comes after the verb पच् 'to cook' when the object in composition with it denotes a measure.

Thus प्रस्थं पचति = प्रस्थं पचा 'a pot having the capacity to cook a *prastha* of food'; so also क्षौण्मपचः, खारिम्पचः 'a kettle'.

मितनखे च ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ मित-नखे, च, (पचः, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मित नख इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पचेः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix खश् is employed after the verb पच्, when मित 'a measured partition' or नख 'a nail' is the word in composition with it as an object.

The aphorism has its scope when the words formed do not denote measures, which was the case in the last sūtra. Thus मितम्पचा ब्राह्मणी 'the Brāhmaṇi who cooks a little i. e. a. niggardly Brāhmaṇi'; नखम्पचा यवागूः 'the nail-scorching barley gruel'.

विध्वरुषोस्तुदः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधु-अरुषो, तुदः, (कर्मेणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विधु अरुस् इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः तुदेर्धातोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix खश् comes after the verb लुप् 'to strike', when विधु 'the moon' or अरुस् 'a wound' is the word in composition with it as object.

As विधुन्तुवः राह् 'the Rāhu that eclipses the moon'; अरुन्तुवः 'corrosive, wounding the vital parts'. For the addition of the augment मुम् after the word अरुस्, see VI. 3. 67.

असूर्यललाटयोर्दृशितपोः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ असूर्य-ललाटयोः,
दृशि-तपोः, (कर्मेणि, खश्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ असूर्यललाट इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योः दृशितपोर्धात्वोः खश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix खश् comes after the verb दृश् 'to see' and तप् 'to heat' when असूर्य and ललाट are the words in composition with them respectively as objects.

Thus असूर्य + दृश् + खश् = असूर्यम्पश्यः; as असूर्यम्पश्या राजसारा 'the king's wives not even seeing the sun' (being shut up in the harem, and so having no opportunity of seeing the sun, that is, they are so well protected that even the sun cannot see them, much less any irreverent gaze).

So also ललाटन्तपः 'heating the fore-head' (such as the sun).

The word असूर्य is an incomplete or impossible compound, as the negative अ applies to the verb दृश् and not to the word सूर्य. This is in opposition to the rule of *samartha pada vidhi* (II. 1. 2).

उग्रम्पश्येरस्मदपाणिन्धमाश्च ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ उग्रम्पश्य-
इरस्मद-पाणिन्धमाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उग्रम्पश्य इरस्मद पाणिन्धम इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

37. The words उग्रम्पश्य, इरस्मद and पाणिन्धम are irregularly formed.

Thus उग्रं पश्यति = उग्रम्पश्यः 'fierce-looking'; इरश्च मद्यति = इरस्मदः 'delighting in drinking an epithet of इंद्रा, a flash of lightning'. So पाणिन्धमाः पन्नानः 'chilly roads'.

प्रियवशे वदः खच् ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रिय-वशे, वदः, खच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रिय वश इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्वर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्प्रकरणे गमेः सुव्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ विहायसो विह च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ खच्च डिङा वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डे च विहायसो विहारेशो वक्तव्यः ॥

38. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to speak' when मिथ or वश is the word in composition with it as an object.

Thus मिथं वदति=मिथेवच्: 'who speaks kindly'; वशांवच्: 'who professes submission'.

Of the affix खच्, the letters ख् and च् are indicatory; ख् indicates the insertion of the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 37), and च् shows that there is shortening of the vowel in certain cases (VI. 4. 94).

In the case of मिथ and वश with वच्, the affix खच् would have given the same result as the affix खच्. Making a separate affix in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow, where this affix will produce different effects than खच्.

Vart.—The affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition with it. As मित्तगमो हस्ती 'the slow-moving i. e. an elephant'; मित्तगमा हस्तिनी 'the slow-moving i. e. a she-elephant':

Vart.—This affix comes under similar circumstances when the word in composition with गम् is विहायस्; and the letter is then replaced by the word विह. As विहायसा गच्छति=विहंगमः 'a bird (that which goes through the sky)'.

Vart.—In the *Vārtikas* above given, the affix खच् may optionally be considered as if it had an indicatory ड. The force of ड is to cause elision of the final vowel with what follows it. As विहंगः or विहंगमः 'a bird'. So also भुजंगः or भुजंगः 'a serpent' (what goes crookedly).

Vart.—विहायस् is replaced by विह when the affix ड (III 2. 48) comes after the verb गम्; as विहंगः 'a bird'. Thus we have three forms: विहंग, विहङ्ग, विहङ्गमः।

द्विषत्परयोस्तापेः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषत्-परयोः, तापे,

(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषत्परयोः कर्षणोरुपपद्योस्तापेर्धातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix खच् comes after the verb ताप् 'to heat', when द्विषत् or पर is the word in composition with it as an object.

The verb ताप् belongs both to *Bhū* and *Chur* classes. Both are meant in the sūtra. In the case of *Bhūdi*, the verb ताप् is the causative ending in णि of ताप्; while in *Churādi*, all verbs take णि.

Thus द्विषन्तं तापयति=द्विषन्तपः (VI. 4. 94) 'one who destroys his enemies', so also परन्तपः 'one who subdues his enemies, a hero'.

This affix however, will not apply when the above upapadas are in the feminine gender. In this case the general affix अण् will be employed; as द्विषतीं तापयति = द्विषतीतापः ।

वाचि यमो व्रते ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ वाचि, यमः, व्रते, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वाक्शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे यमेधातोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति व्रते गम्यमाने ॥

40. The affix खच् comes after the verb वच् 'to curb' when the word वाक् 'speech' is in composition with it as object, and the sense indicated is that of a vow.

The word व्रत means a vow taken according to the rules of Dharma-sāstra. Thus वाचंयम आस्ते 'he has taken the vow of rigid silence'.

Why do we say 'vow'? Otherwise the form is वाग्यामः 'restraining speech' (VI. 3. 69).

पूः सर्वयोदारिसहोः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूः-सर्वयोः, दारि-सहोः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर् सर्व इत्येतयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्यथासंख्यं दारिसहोर्धात्वोः खच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भगो च दारिरिति वक्तव्यम् ॥

41. The affix खच् comes after the verbs दारि 'to split' and सह् 'to bear' when respectively in composition with the words पूर् 'a city' and सर्व 'all', as objects.

As पूर् दारयति = पूरन्दरः 'name of Indra (who splits asunder cities)' (VI. 3. 69 and VI. 4. 94); सर्वसहो राजा 'the king who is all-forbearing'.

Vart.—So also when the word भग is in composition with the verb दारि as भगन्दरः 'a fistula in the anus'.

सर्वकूलभ्रकरीषेषु कषः ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सर्व-कूल-भ्र-करीषेषु कषः, (खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्व कूल भ्र करीष इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कषेधातोः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix खच् comes after the verb कष् 'to rub' when the words सर्व 'all', कूल 'bank', भ्र 'cloud' and करीष 'a dry cow-dung', are in composition with it as object.

As सर्वकषः खलः 'a villain, a rogue'; कूलकषा नदी 'a river'; भ्रकषो गिरि 'a mountain'; करीषकषा वायुः 'a strong wind'.

मेघर्त्तिभयेषु कजः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेघ-ऋति-भयेषु, कजः,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मेघ ऋति भय इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु कजः खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उपपदविधौ भयादिग्रहणं तदन्तविधिं प्रयोजयति ॥

43. The affix खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words मेघ 'cloud', ऋति 'misfortune' and भय 'fear' are in composition as objects.

As मेघंकरः 'producing clouds'; ऋतिकरः 'giving pain'; भयंकरः 'frightful'.

Vart.—The *tadanta vidhi* applies in the case of upapadas like भय. &c. This is an exception to the *vartika* under I. i. 72. by which, in the case of affixes, *tadanta-vidhi* was prohibited. Thus we have अभयंकरः 'who causes security'.

क्षेमप्रियमद्रेण च ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्षेम-प्रिय-मद्रे, अच्, च,
(खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षेम प्रिय मद्र इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु करोतेरणप्रत्ययो चकारात् खच्च ॥

44. And the affix अण् as well as खच् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' when the words क्षेम 'happiness', प्रिय 'pleasant' and मद्र 'joy' are in composition as objects.

The word 'and' denotes that the affix खच् is also to be included.

Thus क्षेमकारः or क्षेमंकरः 'propitious'; प्रियकारः or प्रियंकरः 'showing kindness'; मद्रकारः or मद्रंकरः 'causing delight'.

The repetition of the affix अण्, when its *anuvritti* could have been read into this sūtra by using the word वा 'optionally', indicates that these words never take the affix ट् of sūtra 20 though cause, habit, &c., may be denoted; so that the feminine of those words is formed by आ and 'not by ई'; as अन्पारम्भाः क्षेमंकराः 'small beginnings lead to or cause prosperity'.

आशिते भुवः करणभावयोः ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिते, भुवः, करण-
भावयोः, (खच्, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशितशब्दे सुबन्ते उपपदे भवतेर्धातोः करणे भावे चार्थे खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix खच् comes after the verb भू 'to be' when in composition with the case-inflected word आशित 'satisfied by eating' and the sense is that of instrument or condition.

The word 'सुपि' of sūtra 4 is understood here.

Thus आशितंभवः meaning 'food', literally that by which one is satiated. आशितं भवती भवेन. Here the word denotes instrument. And आशितंभवः also means 'satiety', which denotes condition.

संज्ञायां भृत्तृजिधारिसहितपिदमः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायां,
भृ-तृ-जि-धारि-सहि-तपि-दमः, (कर्मेणि, सुपि, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भृ तृ जि धारि सहि तपि दम इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

46. The affix खच् comes after the following verbs when the words to be formed denote a name :—viz. भृ 'to bear', तृ 'to cross over', वृ 'to choose', जि 'to conquer', धारि 'to hold', सहि 'to bear', तपि 'to heat' and दम 'to subdue'.

Both the words कर्मेणि and सुपि of sūtra 1 and 4 are understood here and should be applied as the occasion requires. Thus विश्वभरा 'earth' (that which supports all) ; रथंतर 'the Rathantara Sāma' ; पतिवरा 'a girl' lit. (who is about to choose a husband) ; शत्रुंजयः 'an elephant' lit. (who conquers the enemy) ; युगंधरः 'a mountain' or 'the pole of a carriage to which the yoke is fixed' ; शत्रुसहः 'Satrunsa' (withstanding an enemy) ; शत्रुतपः 'Satruntapa' (destroying an enemy) ; अरिंदमः 'Arindama' (victorious).

Why do we say 'when denoting a name' ? Observe कुटुम्बभारः 'he who supports his family'.

गमश्च ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गमः, च, (सुपि, संज्ञायां, खच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गमेर्धातोः सुप्युपपत्ते संज्ञायां विषये खच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. And the affix खच् comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, and when the word to be formed denotes a name.

As सुतंगमः 'Sutangama'. Though the verb गम् could well have been included in the last aphorism, the separation serves the purpose of carrying the *anuvritti* of गम् into the subsequent sūtras.

अन्तात्यन्ताध्वदूरपारसर्वानन्तेषु डः ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्त-
अत्यन्त-अध्वन्-दूर-पार-सर्व-अनन्तेषु, 'डः' ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्त अत्यन्त अध्वन् दूर पार सर्व अनन्त इत्येतेषु कर्मसूपपदेषु गनेर्डेप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ड प्रकरणे सर्ववपलबोहपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उरसो ज्ञोपथ ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ सुदुरोरधिकरणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ निरीक्षणे ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उपकरणेऽन्येऽपि दृश्यते ॥

48. The affix ड comes after the verb गम् 'to go' when in composition with the following words as its objects :—अन्त 'end', अत्यन्त 'excessive', अश्वन् 'road', दूर 'far', पार 'across', सर्व 'all' and अनन्त 'endless'.

The anuvritti of the word संज्ञायाम् does not extend to this. As अन्तगः 'having gone to the end, thoroughly conversant'; अत्यन्तगः 'going too fast'; अश्वगः 'a way-farer'; दूरगः 'going to a distant place'; पारगः 'completely familiar'; सर्वगः 'going everywhere, the Supreme Being'; अनन्तगः 'going to infinity, moving for ever'.

Of the affix ड the letter ड् is indicatory, the real affix being अ. The ड indicates that the टि portion of the word to which this is added, must be elided (VI. 4. 143); as अन्त + गम् + ड = अन्त + ग् + अ (the टि portion अम् of गम् is elided). Now though the rule VI. 4. 143 says 'when that which has an indicatory ड, follows, there is elision of the टि of a भ'; yet in the present case, such elision takes place, although the word गम् here is not one of those called भ (I. 4. 18); because the presence of ड as an indicatory letter must not be unmeaning.

Vart.—The ड is also employed when the words in composition are सर्वत्र 'everywhere' and पन्न 'creeping'; as सर्वत्रगः 'Supreme Spirit'; पन्नगः 'snake'.

Vart.—So also when the word in composition is उरस् 'breast', and there is elision of its final. As उरस् + गम् + ड = उरगः 'moving on breast, a snake'.

Vart.—So also with the words सु 'well' and दुर् 'bad', when the resulting words denote location. As सुगः 'that in which one goes easily, easy of access'. दुर्गः 'difficult of access, a fort'.

Vart.—So also with the preposition निर्, the word to be formed meaning country; as निगः 'a country'.

Vart.—Others say, that this ड is added when other words besides the above stand as upapadas. Thus स्त्र्यगारगः (स्त्री + अगार + गम् + ड) 'who goes to the women's compartment'; ग्रामगः 'going to the village'; गुरुतल्पगः 'who pollutes the bed of his guru'.

आशिषि हनः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, हनः, (डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि गम्यमानायां हन्तेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे ड प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ शारावाहनोऽणन्तस्य च टः संज्ञायाम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ चारौ या ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ कैर्मणि समि च ॥

49. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', when the object is in composition with it, and when benediction is intended.

The affix ड is understood in this sūtra. Thus तिमिं वध्यात् = तिमिहः 'may he kill the whale'; शत्रुहः 'may he kill the enemy'.

*Why do we say 'when benediction is intended'? Otherwise we have शत्रुघातः 'who kills his enemy'.

Vart.—The affix अण् comes after the verb आहन् when the word वारु 'wood' is in composition with it, and the final letter of the word so formed is changed into ट, when the word so formed denotes a name. As वारु आहन्ति = वारवाघाटः (वारु + आहन् + अण्) 'the wood-pecker'.

Vart.—So also optionally when the word चारु 'beautiful' is in composition under the circumstances detailed in the last *vārtika*: as चारवाघाटः or चारवाघाटः।

Vart.—So also, when the verb हन् is preceded by the preposition सम्, and is in composition with a word in the objective case, the affix अण् is employed; and the final is replaced by ट; as वर्णान् संहन्ति = वर्णसंघाटः or वर्णसंघातः 'the alphabet'; पदानि संहन्ति = पदसंघाटः or पदसंघातः 'connecting the words that are separated, an annotator'.

अपे क्लेशतमसोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, क्लेश-तमसोः, (कर्मणि, हनः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपुत्राद्धन्तः क्लेशतमसोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्दप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix ड comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is compounded with the preposition अप्, and when the object in composition with it, is the word क्लेश 'pain' or तमस् 'darkness'.

As, क्लेशापहः पुत्रः 'the pain-allayer i. e. the son'; तमोपहः सूर्यः 'the darkness-destroyer i. e. the sun'.

This aphorism has its scope when the sense is not that of benediction.

कुमारशीर्षयोर्णिनिः ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कुमार-शीर्षयोः, णिनिः, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कुमार शीर्ष इत्येतयोरुपपदयोः हन्तेर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it is कुमार 'a child', or शीर्ष 'head'.

Thus कुमार+हन्+णिनि = कुमार+घान+हन् (VII. 3. 54 and VII. 3. 32) = कुमारघानिन् nom. sing. कुमारघाती 'child-killer'. So also शीर्षघानिन् nom. sing. शीर्षघाती 'head-killer'.

The word शीर्ष is an irregular form of the word शिरस् ।

लक्षणे जायापत्योदक् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणे, जाया-पत्योः, टक्, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्जायापत्योः कर्मणोरुपपत्त्योर्लक्षणवतिकर्तरि टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when it is in composition with the word जाया 'wife' or पति 'husband' as object, and when the word so formed denotes the agent possessed of that attribute (or when the word so formed denotes a mark).

The word लक्षण of this sūtra gives rise to the doubt whether it means लक्षणे कर्तरि or लक्षणवति कर्तरि. In the former case the meaning will be 'when the agent is itself the mark'; as जायाघ्नः 'a mole' (a mark on the body indicative of the death of one's wife). In the latter case the meaning will be 'when the agent is possessed of the attribute denoted by the word'; as जायाघ्नः 'the murderer of his wife'; पतिघ्नः 'the murderer of her husband'.

Of the affix टक् the letters ह् and क् are indicatory. The ह् shows that the feminine is formed by ह्, and क् causing elision of the penultimate अ of हन्. Thus जाया+हन्+टक् = जाया+हन्+अ (VI. 4. 98) = जायाघ्नः (VII. 3. 54).

अमनुष्यकर्तृके च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-मनुष्य-कर्तृके, च, (टक्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमनुष्यकर्तृके वर्तमानाद्वन्तेर्द्धातोः कर्मण्युपपत्ते टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. And the affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the object is in composition with it, and when the word to be formed denotes an agent other than a human being.

As जायाघ्नस्तिलकालकः 'the mole' (literally that which indicates the death of one's wife); पतिघ्नी पाणिरंखा 'the line of the palm of the hand' (that which indicates the death of one's husband). These two forms were deducible also from the last aphorism. श्लेष्मघ्नं मधु 'honey' (literally that which has the property of destroying the phlegm). पित्तघ्नं घृतं 'clarified butter' (lit. that which destroys the bile).

Why do we say 'when the agent is not a human being'? Observe आसुघातः शूद्रः 'a Sādra' (literally one who kills the mice). Here the affix is अण्.

Why is the affix टक् not employed in the following ? चौरघातो हस्तिः 'an elephant' (i. e. who kills a thief). Here the word is formed by the affix भण् on the analogy of sūtra III. 3. 113 which allows a diversity in case of *kritya* affixes, which diversity is extended in this case to a *krī* affix.

शक्तौ हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्तौ, हस्ति-कपा-
(वा)टयीः, (हनः, टक्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ गम्यमानायां हस्तिकपा(वा)टयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोर्हन्ते टक्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix टक् comes after the verb हन् 'to kill' when the word in composition with it as its object is हस्ती 'elephant' or कपाट 'gate' and when the sense indicated is that of power.

This sūtra applies where the agent is a human being. As हस्तिनं हन्तुं शक्तः = हस्तिघ्नः मनुष्यः 'a man who is strong enough to kill an elephant'; so also कपाटघ्नः 'a burglar' (who is capable of breaking open the doors).

Why do we say 'where power is indicated'? Observe विशेषेण हस्तिनं हन्ति = हस्तिघातः 'who kills the elephant by poison'. Here the affix is भण्.

पाणिघताडघौ शिल्पिनि ॥ ५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पाणिघ-ताडघौ,
शिल्पिनि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पाणिघ ताडघ इत्येते शब्दौ निपात्येते शिल्पिनि कर्तरि ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ राजघ उपसंख्यानम् ॥

55. The words पाणिघ and ताडघ are irregularly formed when denoting an artificer.

These forms are thus evolved. The affix क् is employed after the verb हन् in composition with पाणि 'hand' and ताड 'a blow' as object; then the टि portion of हन् i. e. अन् is elided, and ह is changed into घ irregularly. Thus पाणि + हन् + क् = पाणि + ह् + भ् = पाणिघः 'a drummer' (workman or handicraftsman); ताडघः 'a smith'.

Why 'when denoting an artificer'? Observe पाणिघातः 'boxing'; ताडघातः 'hammering'.

Vart.—The word राजघः should be enumerated in this connection; राजघः 'a regicide'.

आढ्यसुभगस्थूलपलितनग्नानधप्रियेषु चव्यर्थेष्वश्व्यौ कजः करणे
स्थुन् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आढ्य-सुभग-स्थूल-पलित-नग्न-अन्ध-प्रियेषु, चि-अ-
र्थेषु, अश्व्यौ, कजः, करणे, स्थुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु च्ययधेयच्यन्तेषु करोतेर्द्वातोः करणे कारके ख्युन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

56. The affix ख्युन्, when the sense of the word to be formed is that of an instrumental agent, comes after the verb कृ 'to make', when the following words are in composition with it as objects:—आढ्य 'rich', सुभग 'fortunate', स्थूल 'big', पलित 'grey', नग्न 'naked', अन्ध 'blind' and प्रिय 'pleasant', provided that these words have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि, though not actually ending in the affix च्चि.

The affix च्चि (V. 4. 50.) is added to a noun when it is in composition with the verbs भू 'to become', कृ 'to make' and अस् 'to be' ; its force being that a thing attains to a condition in which it previously was not. The च्चि being an optional affix, its sense is two-fold ; namely, words ending in च्चि and words not ending in च्चि. Both may have the force of च्चि. In the present sūtra, however, the words that actually end in च्चि have been excluded, while words which do not take the affix च्चि, but have the force of च्चि are included in the present sūtra.

Thus आढ्य + कृ + ख्युन् = आढ्य + कर् + अन् = आढ्यकरणं 'that by the instrumentality of which the poor becomes rich, viz., wealth, prosperity, means of enriching' ; सुभगकरणम् 'making happy' ; स्थूलकरणम् 'by which one becomes big' ; पलितकरणम् 'rendering grey' ; नग्नकरणम् 'making naked' ; अन्धकरणम् 'making blind' ; प्रियकरणम् 'showing kindness'.

Why do we say 'when the force is that of the affix च्चि' ? Otherwise आढ्य तैलैर्न कुर्वन्ति i. e. अभ्यञ्जयन्ति 'they anoint with oil. Here though something is joined with what it previously was not joined, namely with oil, yet as the radical word is not prominent here, the sense is not that of च्चि and hence this counter-example.

Why do we say 'when not ending in the affix च्चि' ? Observe आढ्यो कुर्वन्ति अनेन 'they make rich by this'. Here the affix ख्युन् is not employed.

It might be objected : 'well if ख्युन् is not used, then the affix ल्युट् must be used (III. 3. 117) as there is no difference between ख्युन् and ल्युट् ; both having the efficient portion यु ; what is then the use of prohibiting च्चि ? We reply, 'because there is this prohibition, when the affix ख्युन् is not employed the affix ल्युट् will also be not employed, Thus by implication the affix ल्युट् is also prohibited. The prohibition of च्चि in this sūtra is for the sake of the aphorisms that follow'.

Pāṇjali observes this prohibition as superfluous, because there is no distinction between ल्यप् and ल्युप्. For the word formed by any one of these affixes have the same form and the same accent. Nor there is any distinction in the feminines of their derivatives. For the word formed by नम्, स्तम्, ईक्, अक् and ल्युप् take ई in the feminine as well as the words तरुन् and तजन्. Nor there is any distinction in their *samāsas*. For in both the cases it will be *nitya samāsa*. Nor is the prohibition made for the sake of the augment मुम्. For it being an indeclinable, मुम् cannot come after it. The prohibition therefore is of no use to this sūtra but it is inserted here for the sake of the following sūtras.

कर्तरि भुवः खिण्णच्-खुकञौ ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, भुवः,
खिण्णच्-खुकञौ, (आढ्यादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आढ्यादिषु सुबन्तेषूपपदेषु ऋयर्थेऽव्यक्त्यन्तेषु भवतेर्द्वातीः कर्तरि कारके खिण्णच्-
खुकञ् इत्येता प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

57. The affixes खिण्णच् and खुकञ्, when the word to be formed denotes an agent, come after the verb भू 'to become', when it is in composition with words आढ्य &c., provided that these have the sense of the words formed by the affix च्चि though not ending in च्चि.

Thus आढ्यम्भविष्णुः 'becoming rich (who was not rich before)'; आढ्य-
म्भावकः 'becoming rich'; सुभगम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming happy'; स्थूलम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming big'; पञ्जितम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming grey'; नग्नम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming naked'; अन्धम्भविष्णुः or -भावुकः 'becoming blind'; मियम्भविष्णुः or
-भावुकः 'becoming an object of affection, amiable'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the agent'? Not so when it denotes the instrument. The affixes will apply when the sense of the upapada is that of च्चि, otherwise not; as आढ्यो भविता 'he will be rich'.

These affixes will not apply when the upapada ends in च्चि; आढ्यो भविता ।

स्पर्शोऽनुदके क्तिन् ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्पर्शः, अनुदके, क्तिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पर्शोर्भातोरनुदकं सुबन्तउपपदं क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix क्तिन् comes after the verb स्पर्श् 'to touch', when it is in composition with a case-inflected word other than उदक् 'water'.

By sūtra 4 of this chapter, the *anuvritti* of the word सुप्ति is to be read into this sūtra. It might be objected 'why do we not read the *anuvritti* of the word कर्म instead of सुप्ति', because the verb स्पर्श् is a transitive verb, and after

such verbs, the anuvritti of कर्म ought to come by sūtra 4? To this we say there is no harm in reading the anuvritti of सृप्ति in this case ; because the word कर्म of the last sūtra is also, in a way understood here, and indicates the collection of all sorts of agents whether objects, instruments &c., and this can only be when the first member of the compound is a word in general.

Thus घृतं स्पृशति = घृतस्पृग्, nom. sing. घृतस्पृक् 'he who touches clarified butter'. स्पृग् + किन् + सु = स्पृग् + वि + ० (VI. 1. 68) = स्पृक् + ० (VI. 1. 67, and VIII. 2. 62). So also मन्त्रं स्पृशति = मन्त्रस्पृक् 'who touches with hymns' ; जलेन स्पृशति = जलस्पृक् 'who touches with water'. But उदकेन स्पृशति = उदकस्पृग् ; here we have the general affix अण्.

The न् of किन् is to distinguish this affix from affixes like क्तिप् &c. For, had it been merely कि, then in sūtra VIII. 2. 62. we should have used कि प्रत्ययस्थ क्ति; and it would have been ambiguous, for कि might be explained as meaning both कि and क्तिप्, as ज्ञय means ज्ञयप्, ज्ञयप् &c. To remove this ambiguity, न् is added to make a distinctive affix. The न् cannot be for the sake of accent, (VI. 1. 117), the verb being monosyllabic would of itself have taken that accent.

ऋत्विग्दधृक्स्त्रग्दिगुणिगंचुयुजिक्रुञ्चां च ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥

ऋत्विक्-दधृक्-स्त्रक्-दिक्-उणिक्-अञ्चु-युजि-क्रुञ्चाम्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋत्विगादयः पञ्चगव्याः किन्प्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते अपरे त्रयो धातवो निर्दिश्यन्ते ॥

59. The words ऋत्विक् 'a domestic priest', दधृक् 'impudent', लक् 'a garland', दिक् 'a direction' and उणिक् 'a quatrain' are irregularly formed by adding the affix किन् ; and so also after the verbs अञ्च् 'to worship', युजि 'to join' and क्रुञ्च् 'to approach', the affix किन् is employed.

The first five words are irregular forms. Thus ऋत् + यञ् + किन् = ऋत्विक् 'he who performs sacrifice in the season (ऋतौ) or to the season (ऋतुम्). This word, however is a कृति word in which it is fruitless to search for its etymological meaning. धृष् + किन् = दधृक्. Here there is reduplication and the final has acute accent. लृन् + किन् = लक्. Here there is augment अन्. इग् + किन् = दिक्. So also उत् + स्निङ् + किन् = उणिक्. All these are in fact crude nouns, their current meaning having little traces of their root meaning.

The affix किन् comes after the three roots युज्, अञ्च्, and क्रुञ्च्. Being read along with the five above-mentioned irregularly-formed words, there is some irregularity in the application of किन् to these verbs. Thus the affix किन् comes after अञ्च् only when a word ending with any case-affix precedes it in composition. As प्र + अञ्च् + किन् = प्राञ्च् nom. sing. प्राह् (VI. 4. 24 ; VII. 1. 70 ; VIII. 2. 23 and 62) 'east' ; so also प्रत्यह् 'west' ; उत्तह् 'north'.

The affix **किन्** comes after **युजिर्** and **कृञ्च्** when these are uncombined. Thus **युज् + किन् = युज्**. In nominative singular, **युज् + सु = युज् + सु** (VII. 1. 71) = **युज् + 0** (VI. 1. 68) = **युज्** (VIII. 2. 62) 'who joins'. When the root **युज्** is in composition with an *upapada*, it takes the affix **किन्** (see sūtra 61). As **अश्वयुक्** 'yoked with horses'.

So also **कृञ्च् + किन् = कृञ्च्**, nom. sing. **कृञ्**, 'a curlew'. The non-elision of the **ञ** (VI. 4. 24) of **कृञ्च्** is an irregularity, as this word has been taught in connection with other irregular words.

त्यदादिषु दृशोऽनालोचने कञ् ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्यद्-आदिषु, दृशः, अनालोचने, कञ्, च, (किन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्यदादिषुपठेषु दृशोर्धातोरनालोचनेऽर्थे वर्तमानात् कञ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् किञ्च ॥

60. And the affix **कञ्** comes after the verb **दृश्** 'to see' when it is in combination with **त्यद्** &c. and does not signify perception.

The force of 'and' is that the **किन्** also comes under similar circumstances. **त्यद्** &c. are pronouns, for a list of which see I. 1. 27. Thus **त्यादृग्** nom. sing. **त्यादृक्**, 'such-like' when it is formed by **किन्**; and **त्यादृग्**: 'such-like' when the affix is **कञ्**. So also **सद् + दृश् + किन् = तादृग्** (VI. 3. 91) nom. sing. **तादृक्** (VI. 1. 68, VIII. 2. 36 and 62, VIII. 4. 56); and **तादृग्**: when **कञ्** is the affix. So **यादृक्** or **यादृग्**: 'what-like'.

What is the force of the letter **ञ्** of **कञ्**? It is for the sake of accent; the *udatta* is on the first syllable of those words which are formed by an affix having an indicative **ञ्** or **न्** (VI. 1. 117). But the indicative **न्** would have given the same accent, there being no difference between **कञ्** and **कन्** in this respect. The indicative **ञ्** then serves only the purpose of distinguishing the affix **कञ्** from **कन्** in sūtra IV. 1. 15 in which **कञ्** is taken and not **कन्**. Had we not formed this separate affix, then for **कञ्करप्** of that sūtra, we should have read **कन् करप्** so that the feminine of words formed by **कन्** would have also taken long ई, so that the feminine of **यावकः** (**याव + कन्** V. 4. 29) would have been **यावकी** instead of **यावका**.

Why do we say 'when not signifying perception'? See **तं पश्यति = तद्दृशः** 'who sees that'. The words **त्यादृक्**, **तादृक्** &c. are crude nouns, in which the etymological sense of the root not being visible, the act of seeing can never be denoted by these words.

Vart.—This rule applies also when the words **समान** and **अन्य** are in composition with **दृश्**. As **सदृक्** or **सदृग्**: 'like' (**समान + दृश् + किन् = स + दृश्** VI. 3. 89); so also **अन्यादृग्** or **अन्यादृक्** 'of another kind'.

Var.—The affix क्स comes also after the root वृश्. As तावृक्षः, यावृक्षः, अन्यावृक्षः and कीवृक्षः। तद् + वृश् + क्स = ता + वृश् + क्स (VI. 3. 91.) = तावृष् + स (VIII. 2. 36) = तावृक् + स (VIII. 2. 41) = तावृक् + ष (VIII. 3. 59) = तावृक्षः।

सत्सूद्विषद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्तिप् ॥
६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ सत्-सू-द्विष-द्रुह-द्रुह-युज-विद-भिद-च्छिद-जि-नी-राजाम्,
उपसर्गे, अपि, क्तिप्, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्सूद्विषद्रुहद्रुहयुजविदभिदच्छिदजिनीराजामुपसर्गेऽपि क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix क्तिप् comes after the following verbs when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix, though it may be an upasarga, viz:—सत् 'to sit', सू 'to bring forth', द्विष 'to hate', द्रुह 'to bear malice', रुह 'to milk', युज् 'to join', 'to concentrate the mind', विद् 'to know', 'to become', 'to consider', भिद् 'to divide', छिद् 'to cut', जि 'to conquer', नी 'to lead' and राज् 'to shine'.

The phrase 'the word ending with a case-affix' is understood in this sūtra. The *anuvritti* of कर्मे is not to be taken in this sūtra for the same reasons as in sūtra 58 *ante*. The upasargas are also words ending in a case-affix *i. e.* they are also *subanta* words. Their special mention in this section, indicates by implication (*jñāpaka*) that wherever in the previous sūtras, the word *subanta* (a case-inflected word) is used, it does not include an upasarga (III 1. 106).

The root सू being read in conjunction with द्विष shows that अवृक्षि class verb is meant here, and not तुवृक्षि class. The verb युज् includes, both युजिर् 'to join' and युज् 'to concentrate one's mind'. The verb विद् includes the three verbs having the sense of 'to know', 'to become' and 'to consider', but does not include the verb विद् 'to gain', because that root has an indicative लृ (विद्लृ) while all these verbs have indicative अ.

Thus, सत्—शुचिषत् 'dwelling in purity'; भन्तरिक्षसत् 'dwelling in the skies', 'epithets of Brahma' (Kāth. 5. 2); उपसत् 'serving'. सू—अण्डसूः 'oviparous'; शतसूः 'bringing forth hundred'; प्रसूः 'parent'. द्विष—मित्रद्विद् 'treacherous'; प्रद्विद् 'hostile'. द्रुह—मित्रद्रुक् 'treacherous'; प्रद्रुक् 'hostile' (VIII. 2. 37). रुह—गोधुक् 'cow-milker'; प्रधुक् 'milker' (VIII. 2. 32. and 37). युज्—अधयक् 'carriage'; प्रयुक् 'impulse'. विद्—वेदवित् 'knower of Veda'; प्रवित् 'knower'; ब्रह्मवित् 'knower of Brahma'. भिद्—काष्ठभित् 'wood-cutter'; प्रभित् 'cutter'. छिद्—रज्जुच्छिद् 'rope-cutter'; प्रच्छिद् 'a cutter'. जि—शत्रुजित् 'enemy-conqueror'; प्रजित् 'conqueror'. नी—सेनानी 'leader of an army'; प्रणीः 'a leader'; ग्रामणीः 'head-borough'; अग्रणीः 'first'. (Why is there cerebral ण in these words? Because the word ग्रामणी has a cerebral ण in

sūtra V. 2, 78 and that indicates that these words will have ए, as also by sūtra VIII. 4. 3). राज्—विराद् 'splendour'; सम्राट् 'emperor' (the letter म is added by sūtra VIII. 3. 25).

This sūtra is a continuation and expansion of sūtras 75 and 76 *sup.*

भजो शिवः ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ भजः, शिवः, (उपसर्गे, अपि, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भजोर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे उपसर्गेऽप्यनुपसर्गेऽपि णिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix णि comes after the verb भज् 'to share' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix whether it be an upasarga or not.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood in this sūtra. As भज्—भजत = अर्द्धभाज् nom. sing. अर्द्धभाक् 'sharing a half'. So also when in composition with a preposition; as प्रभाक् 'division'.

छन्दसि सहः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, सहः, (उपसर्गे, सुपि, शिवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये सहोर्धातोः सुबन्त उपपदे णिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. In the Chhandas, the affix णि comes after the verb सह् 'to bear' when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The words 'upasarga' and 'supi' are understood here. As सुर+सह्+णि सुरसाह् nom. sing. सुराट् 'name of Indra'. The dental स is changed into cerebral ष by VIII. 3. 56, and the ह् into ट् by VIII. 2. 31. The final अ of सुर is lengthened by VI. 3. 137. See Rig Veda. I. 175. 2, III. 48. 5.

वहश्च ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वहः, च, (छन्दसि, शिवः, सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वहोर्धातोः छन्दसि विषये सुबन्त उपपदे णिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix णि comes after the verb वह् 'to carry', in the Chhandas, when a word ending with a case-affix is in composition with it.

As प्रथमाह 1st sing. प्रथमाद् 'carrying a *prashtha* measure'; so, द्वित्याद् ।

The division of this sūtra from the last is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvritti of वह् only is carried and not of सह्. See Yajur Veda. XIV. 10, XVIII. 26.

कव्यपुरीषपुरीष्येषु ऽयुट् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कव्य-पुरीष-पुरीष्येषु, ऽयुट्, (छन्दसि, सुपि, वहः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कव्य पुरीष पुरीष्य इत्येतेषु उपपदेषु छन्दसि विषये वहोर्धातोः ऽयुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. In the Chhandas the affix ऽयुट् comes after

the verb वह when it is in composition with the words कव्य 'oblation of food to deceased ancestors', पुरीष 'faeces' and पुरीष्य 'water'.

As कव्यवाहनः गितृणाम् (Yajur. Ved. II. 29) 'fire that carries the oblation to the *pitris*'; पुरीषवाहनः 'carrier of water'; पुरीष्यवाहनः (Yaj. Ved. XI. 44). The feminine of these words is formed by adding long ई ।

हव्येऽनन्तःपादम् ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हव्ये, अनन्तः-पादम्,
(छन्दसि, वहः, उयुट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हव्यवाह उपपदे छन्दसि विषये वहधातोऽयुट्प्रत्ययो भवति, अनन्तःपादं चेद्वहिवर्तते ॥

66. The affix उयुट् comes in the Chhandas, after the verb वह 'to carry' when it is in composition with the word हव्य 'an oblation to gods', provided that the word so formed does not occur in the middle of a pāda (fourth part of a stanza).

As अग्निश्च हव्यवाहनः 'fire, the carrier of oblation to the gods'. (Rig. Ved. I. 44. 2).

When this word occurs in the middle of a pāda, or at the beginning, the form is हव्यवाद्, which is derived by adding the affix ण्व (sūtra 64). As हव्यवाडङ्ग्नरजः पिता नः 'the never-decaying *agni* or fire that carries oblation to the gods, is our father'. (Rig. Veda, III. 2. 2.)

जनसनखनक्रमगमो विट् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जन-सन-खन-
क्रम-गमः, विट्, (छन्दसि, उपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जनादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुबन्त उपपदे छन्दसि विषये विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix विट् (the whole of which is elided) comes in the Chhandas after the verbs जन् 'to be born', सन् 'to bestow', खन् 'to dig', क्रम् 'to pace' and गम् 'to go', when a word ending in a case-affix is in composition, and the final nasals are changed into long आ.

The words छन्दसि, उपसर्गे and सुवि are understood in this sūtra. The verb जन् includes two verbs meaning 'to be born' and 'to happen'; so also सन् means both 'to give' and 'to worship'.

Of the affix विट् the letter ट् is indicative, and is qualifying, as in VI. 4. 41, By which rule the final nasal of जन्, सन् &c. is replaced by long आ when the affix विट् follows, and the whole affix is elided by VI. 1. 67.

As अण् + जन् + विट् = अज्जाः (Rig. Ved. VII. 34. 16) 'born in water' (VI. 4. 41); गोजाः 'born in the heaven i. e. God' (Rig. Veda IV. 40. 5). So also from सन्-गोषाः 'acquiring or bestowing cows' (VIII. 3. 108); गोषा इन्द्रो नृषा भसि 'O Indra bestower of cows! thou art lover of mankind' (Rig. Veda IX. 2. 10). From खन्-विसखाः 'digger of lotus stalk'; कूपखाः 'digger of well'. From कम्-इधिका. 'who gets milk' (Rig. IV. 39. 1 and 40. 5). From गम्-अग्नेना उज्जदृणाम् 'the leader'.

अदोऽनन्ने ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदः, अनन्ने, (सुपि, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अदोर्धातोर्नन् सुप्युपपदे विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

68. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when in composition with a case-inflected word other than अन्न 'food'.

The *anuvritti* of the word 'Chhandasi' does not extend to this sūtra. Thus आसमन्ति = आमात् 'eating raw food'; शृग्यात् 'granivorous'.

But with अन्न as an upapada, we have अन्नाद् 'eating food', which is formed by the general affix अण् (III 2. 1.)

क्रव्ये च ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रव्ये, च, (अदः, विट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रव्यशब्द उपपदे अदोर्धातोर्विट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix विट् comes after the verb अद् 'to eat,' when the word क्रव्य is in composition with it.

As क्रव्यमन्ति = क्रव्यात् 'carnivorous'.

Why has it been made a separate sūtra, when this form could have been obtained by the last sūtra also? To this the vārtika replies: 'This has been made a separate sūtra in order to indicate that the rule of वासकप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here. Therefore the affix अण् will not apply in the alternative. If the affix अण् does not apply, how then we get the form क्रव्याद् which is evidently formed by the affix अण्? The affix अण् comes after the root when the word formed means the eater of meat which has been cut, dressed and cooked'; thus क्रव्याद् means a man who eats meat cooked and prepared, i. e. a meat-eater as opposed to a vegetarian, while क्रव्यात् means an animal which eats raw flesh; the word क्रव्याद् in fact may be regarded as an irregular form falling under षोडशदि class of sūtra VI. 3. 109.

दुहः कप्चञ्च ॥ ७० ॥ दुहः, कप्-चः, च, (सुपि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दुहेर्धातोः सुप्युपपदे कप्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारश्चान्तादेशः ॥

70. The affix कप् comes after the verb दुह् 'to milk' when in composition with a word ending in a case-affix and the letter च replaces its final.

As कामदुधा धेनुः 'a milch cow, giving abundance of milk'; so also अयंदुधा, चर्मदुधा ।

मंत्रे श्वेतवहोक्त्यशस्पुरोडाशो णिवन् ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ मंत्रे,
श्वेतवह-उक्त्यशस्-पुरोडाशः, णिवन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्वेतवह उक्त्यशस् पुरोडाश इत्येतेभ्यो णिवन् प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्वेतवहादीनां उत्पद्येति वक्तव्यम् ॥

71. In the Mantra literature, the affix णिवन् comes after the words श्वेतवह, उक्त्यशस् and पुरोडाशः ।

The above words contain both the verb and the upapada ; the fact of their being so given indicates that there is some irregularity in the application of the affix.

Thus the affix णिवन् comes after the verb वह् preceded by the upapada श्वेत as denoting an agent, while the force of the whole word so formed denotes an object. As श्वेता एनं वहन्ति = श्वेतवाह्, nom. sing. श्वेतवाः 'a name of Indra' (whom white horses carry).

The affix णिवन् is applied to the verb गंस 'to praise' when preceded by the word उक्त्य as object or instrument ; and then the nasal is irregularly dropped. As उक्त्यानि उक्त्यैर्वा वांसति = उक्त्यशस्, nom. sing. उक्त्यशः (Rig. Ved. II. 39. 1.) 'a reciter of hymns, the name of the sacrificer'.

The णिवन् is applied after the verb दागृ 'to give', preceded by पुरो, and इ is changed into ड, the force of the whole word denoting an object. As पुरो दागृन्ति एनं = पुरोडाशः, nom. sing. पुरोडाः (Rig. Ved. III. 28. 2) 'an offering'.

Vart:—The augment डस् is added to the words श्वेतवाह् &c., when the *pada* affixes follow. Thus before *pada* terminations श्वेतवाह् becomes श्वेतवस् । Therefore its Instrumental dual is श्वेतवोभ्याम्, pl. श्वेतवोनिः ।

The augment डस् is not applied before सर्वनामस्थान and भ terminations. As श्वेतवाही, श्वेतवाहः ।

अवे यजः ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, यजः, (णिवन्, मन्त्रे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे यजेर्धातोर्णिवन्प्रत्ययो भवति मन्त्रे विषये ॥

72. In the Mantra literature, the affix णिवन् comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' when in composition with the word अम्.

As अवयाज्, nom. sing. अवयाः (Rig. Ved. I. 173. 12) 'name of a Vedic priest' ; as त्वं यज्ञे वरुणस्यावया असि 'Thou art the priest of Varuṇa in the sacrifice'.

The division of this aphorism from the last in which it could have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras in which the *anuvritti* of यज्

only runs. This word is thus declined :—

	sing.	dual	plural.
1st.	अवयाः,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
2nd.	अवयाजं,	अवयाजौ,	अवयाजः
3rd.	अवयाजा,	अवयोभ्यां,	अवयोभिः

विजुपे छन्दसि ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विच्, उपे, छन्दसि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपउपपक्षे यजेरुंरसि विषये विष्प्रत्ययी भवति ॥

73. The affix विच् comes after the verb यज् when उप precedes, in the Chhandas.

As उपयङ्भिर्ह्रस्वं वहन्ति 'they carry it up with the उपयज् formulas'. उपयज् is the name of eleven formulas at a sacrifice.

The word 'Chhandas' has been repeated here though the anuvṛitti of the word 'mantra' was present in it, in order to include the Brāhmaṇa literature also.

The च् is indicatory and is useful in including the affix विच् in the larger group called वि (which includes क्तिन्, क्तिप्, ण्वि, विट्), as in the sūtra वेरपृक्तस्य (VI. 1. 67).

Why has this sūtra been made, since the affix विच् would have been valid even by aphorism 75? The sūtra has been separately made to show that it is a restrictive rule here. The form उपयज् is found in the Chhandas only, and not in the ordinary literature.

**आतो मनिन्क्कनिष्कनिपश्च ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, मनिन्-
क्कनिप्-वनिपः, च, (छन्दसि, सुपि, विच्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्यो धातुभ्यः सुप्युपपक्षे छन्दसि विषये मनिन् क्वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद्विजापि ॥

74. The affixes मनिन्(मन्), क्कनिप्(वन्), वनिप्(वन्) and विच् come in the Chhandas, after verbs which end in long आ, when a case-inflected word or an upasarga is in composition.

The force of 'and' is to include विच्. Thus सुहा + मनिन् = सुहामन्, 1st. sing. सुहामा (Rig. VI. 20. 7) 'one who gives liberally'; अश्व + स्था + मनिन् = अश्वस्थामान्, 1st. sing. अश्वस्थामा 'the name of Asvatthâman'; सुधा + क्कनिप् = सुधी + वन् (VI. 4. 66) = सुधीवन्, 1st. sing. सुधीवा 'having good understanding'; सुषा + क्कनिप् = सुषीवन्, 1st. sing. सुषीवा 'a good drinker'. भूरि + हा + वनिप् = भूरिहावन्, 1st. sing. भूरिहावा (Rig. II. 27. 17) 'liberal'; घृतपावन् 1st. sing. घृतपावा (Yaj. VI. 19) 'ghee-drinker'.

The affix विच् is also included in this aphorism. As कीलाल + पा + विच् = कीलालपाः (Rig. X. 91. 14) 'nectar-drinker'; शुभंवाः (Rig. IV. 3. 6. and Pāṇini VII.

3. 46) 'beautifully going'; रामस्योपशः 'an offering of Rāma.' (see sūtra III. 3. 106 and Yajur. Ved. XXX. 9).

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यन्ते,
(मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, विच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्योऽनाकारान्तेभ्यो मनिन् वनिप् वनिप् इत्येते प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते,
विच् ॥

75. These affixes viz. मनिन्, क्वनिप्, वनिप्, and विच् are seen after other verbs also besides those ending in long आ.

The word छन्दसि is not understood here. As सु + भृ 'to injure' + मनिन् = सुशर्भन्, 1st. sing. सुशर्मा 'who destroys well i.e. destroys sin or ignorance'. प्रातर् + इ 'to go' + क्वनिप् = प्रातर् + इत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = प्रातरित्वन्, 1st. sing. प्रातरित्वा 'who goes early'. वि + जन् + वनिप् = वि + जा + वन् (VI. 4. 41) = विजावन्, 1st. sing. विजावा 'who brings forth'. अग्रो गावा 'who goes before'. रिष् + विच् = रेष् (VII. 3. 86) 1st. sing. रेड् 'who injures'; as in रेडसि पर्णं नवे: (Yajur. Ved. VI. 18).

The word 'also' in this aphorism has the force of removing all conditions under which these affixes were employed in the previous aphorisms, that is to say, these affixes come even when there is no upapada. As पीवा, धीवा.

The words 'are seen' in this sūtra show that all verbs do not admit of these affixes indiscriminately. It is only when we see a particular form that we can infer the existence of these affixes.

क्विप् च ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्विप्, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यः सोपपदेभ्यो निरुपपदेभ्यश्च छन्दसि भाषायां च क्विप्प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

76. And the affix क्विप् is also seen after all verbs, whether having an upapada or not in the Vedic as well as in the modern Sanskrit.

As उखायाः कंसते = उखासत् (VI. 4. 24) 'falling from the pot'; पर्णभ्रन् 'falling from the leaves'; वाहाद् भ्रयति = वाहाभ्रत्, 1st. sing. वाहाभ्रट् 'falling from a car'. The इ is long by VI. 3. 137. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 8.

स्यः क च ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्यः, क, च, (सुपि, उर्ध्वसर्गे, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्या इत्येतस्माद्भातोः सुदुपपदे कप्रत्ययो भवति क्विप् च ॥

77. The affixes क and क्विप् come after the verb स्या when it is in composition with a word ending in a case-affix or an upasarga.

Why has this aphorism been made, when by rule III. 1. 4, स्या would have taken क and by rule III. 1. 75, it would have taken क्विप् also? This repetition is for the purpose of prohibiting the prohibition, that is to say, the

sûtra III. 2. 14 prohibited the sûtra III. 2. 4, and the present sûtra removes that prohibition. Thus शंस्यः and शंस्याः. But for this sûtra, this form could not have been evolved; for, with the upapada शम्, the verb स्या would have taken the affix भञ् by III. 2. 14.

सुप्यजातौ शिनिस्ताच्छीत्ये ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुपि, अजातौ,
शिनिः, ताच्छीत्ये ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अजातिवाचिनि सुबन्त उपपदे ताच्छीत्ये गन्धमाने धातोर्शिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उत्पत्तिश्रयमाङ्गि सत्तेरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ साधुकारिणि च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ ब्रह्मणि वदः ॥

78. When habit is to be expressed, the affix णिनि comes after a verb, provided the word with a case-affix in composition with it, does not mean a genus.

Thus उष्ण + भुञ् + णिनि = उष्णभोजिन्, 1st. sing. उष्णभोजी 'who eats his meal hot'. So also शीतभोजी &c.

Why do we say 'when it does not mean a genus'? Witness ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयिता 'the inviter of Brâhmanas'. We cannot form ब्राह्मणानामन्त्रयी.

Why do we say 'when habit is to be expressed'? Witness उष्ण भुङ्क्ते कदाचित् 'he sometimes eats hot'.

Though the anuvritti of the word 'supi' was understood in this aphorism, its repetition here declares that upasargas are not included. This is contested by the author of the Siddhânta Kaumudi. According to him this affix comes even with upasargas. As अनुनायित्, अनुजीविन्, उपजीविन् &c.

Vart.—The verb भास् in composition with the prepositions उत् or प्रति should be enumerated as taking this affix. As उदासारिन्, fem. उदासारिणी, 1st. plural उदासारिण्यः. So also प्रत्यासारिणी, pl. प्रत्यासारिण्यः.

Vart.—So also when the sense is 'having skill in such and such action'. As साधुकारी 'excellent worker'; साधुशायी 'giving liberally'.

Vart.—So also after the verb वद preceded by ब्रह्म. As ब्रह्मवादिन्, in ब्रह्मवादिनो वदन्ति 'the knowers of Brahma say'.

कर्त्तयुपमाने ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्तरि, उपमाने, (शिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्त्तृवाचिनि उपमान उपपदे धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

79. The affix णिनि comes after a verb when it is in composition with a word denoting an object of comparison, expressing the agent, the sense of the affix being 'doing something like that', that is to say, when the

upapada agent is the standard of comparison of the agent denoted by the word to which the sense of the affix refers.

Thus उद्ग इव क्रोशति = उद्गक्रोशिन् 'who makes a noise like a camel'; क्वांस-राविन् 'who makes a noise like a crow'.

This sūtra applies where 'habit' is not indicated : or where 'genus' is denoted in opposition to the last aphorism.

Why do we say 'when expressing the agent'? Witness as अपूपानिव भक्षयति माषान् 'he eats *māṣa* like *apūpa*'. Here अपूप is object and not agent, and hence no composition takes place.

Why do we say 'denoting a standard of comparison'? Otherwise there will be no composition. As उद्गः क्रोशति 'the camel makes noise'. For the accents of these words, see VI. 2. 80.

व्रते ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रते, (धातोः, सुप्ति, णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रते गम्यमानं सुबन्त उपपदे धातोर्णिनिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

80. The affix णिनि comes after a verb, in composition with a word ending in a case-affix.

The word व्रत means a 'vow' as regulated and ordained by the Scriptures. This condition 'when vow is expressed' applies to the completed word, that is to say, when the complete word made up of the root, the upapada, and the affix, denotes a vow. As स्थण्डिलशायिन् 'the vow of sleeping on bare ground (and nowhere else) or a person who has taken this vow'. अभ्राद्धभोजिन् 'who has vowed not to eat during the performance of a Srāddha ceremony'.

Why do we say 'when vow is to be expressed'? Otherwise there is no composition. As स्थण्डिले शेते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sleeps on bare ground'.

This sūtra is also an exception to III. 2 78 applicable when habit is not meant, or when genus is to be expressed.

बहुलमाभीक्ष्ये ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, आभीक्ष्ये, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्ये गम्यमानं धातोर्बहुलं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

81. The affix णिनि comes after a verb diversely when continued repetition of an action is to be expressed.

The word आभीक्ष्य means continued repetition, that is to say, zealous practice or assiduous performance of anything, but does not mean habit. As कषायपायिणो गान्धाराः 'the people of Gāndhāra are kashāya-drinkers'. कषाय + पा + णिनि = कषाय + पा + युक् + णिनि (VII. 3. 33). So also क्षीरपायिणो उशीनाराः 'the people of Uśīnāra are milk-drinkers'. सौवीर-पायिणो बाह्लीकाः 'the people of Bāhlika are sauvira-drinkers'.

By using the word 'diversely' in the sūtra, this affix is not applied in other places, as in the following :—कुन्नापखादः 'a grain eater'.

मनः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ मनः, (सुपि, शिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्यतेः सुबंत उपपदे णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

82. The affix 'णिनि' comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when there is a word with a case-affix in composition with it.

The word 'supi' is understood in this sūtra. As दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; शोभनमानी 'who thinks himself beautiful'.

The verb मन् belonging to the 4th conjugation is taken here and not that belonging to the 8th conjugation; because the anuvritti of the word 'diversely' is understood here. In the present aphorism, whether we take the Divādi or Tanādi मन् the resulting form would be the same, namely मानिन्. But not so in the next aphorism, where before the affix खश् there would be difference of form owing to the vikaraṇa, i. e., in the 4th conjugation श्यन् would be added, but not so if the verb belonged to the 8th class.

आत्ममाने खश् ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आत्ममाने, खश्, च, (शिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आत्ममाने वर्त्तमानान्न्यतः सुप्युपपदे खश्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराणिनिश्च ॥

83. And the affix खश् comes after the verb मन् 'to think' when the word in composition with it is a word with a case-affix, and when it is employed to signify thought, whereof the object is self (the sense of the affix being 'thinking himself as such').

The word आत्ममान means thinking of one's own self. By the word 'and' it is meant that the affix णिनि may be employed in the same sense. This rule applies where the agent, indicated by the sense of the affix, thinks himself possessed of the qualities of 'handsomeness' &c., denoted by the upapada. As दर्शनीयमन्यः or दर्शनीयमानी 'who thinks himself handsome'; पण्डितमन्यः or पण्डितमानी 'who thinks himself learned'.

Why do we say (when employed to signify thought whereof the object is self)? Witness दर्शनीयमानी देवदत्तस्य यत्तद्वत्तः 'Yajñadatta is thought handsome by Devadatta'.

Of the affix खश् the letter ख् causes मुम् augment by VI. 3. 66; and श् makes it a sārvaadhātuka affix, which 'brings in the proper vikaraṇas. The affixes so far treated of are applicable in all tenses. The others that follow denote some particular time.

भूते ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूत इत्यधिकारे वर्त्तमाने जडिति यावत्, यदित् ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामः भूत, इत्येवं तद्वेदितव्यम् ॥

84. All the affixes to be treated of hereafter should be understood to come in the sense of past time.

The phrase 'with the sense of past time' is an *adhikāra* or governing aphorism and exerts its influence up to aphorism 123 of this chapter; that is to say, these affixes give a signification of the past tense to the verb whose *anuvritti* is also understood throughout the subsequent *sūtras*; see III. 1. 91.

Thus it will be taught in the next aphorism: 'after the verb यज्, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case, the affix णिनि is employed'. Here to complete the sense we must read into the *sūtra*, the words 'with the sense of past time'. As अग्निष्टोमैष्टवान् = अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with an Agnishtoma or a five-day series of offerings'.

Why do we say 'with the sense of past time'? Otherwise these affixes will not be employed. As अग्निष्टोमेन यजति 'he sacrifices with Agnishtoma'.

करणे यज् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, यज्, (णिनिः, भूते)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजन्तर्धातोः करणउपपदं णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

85. The affix णिनि comes after the verb यज् 'to sacrifice' with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the instrumental case.

The *anuvritti* of णिनि and not of यज् is to be read into this *sūtra*. As अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् 'who has sacrificed with Agnishtoma.' Here Agnishtoma is the instrument for the attainment of the desired fruit.

कर्मणि हन् ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, हन्, (णिनिः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मणि उपपदं हन्तेर्धातोर्णिनिप्रत्ययो भवति भूते काले ॥

86. The affix णिनि comes after the verb हन् 'to kill', with the sense of past time, when the word in composition is in the accusative case.

As पित्रव्यधातिन् 'who has killed his paternal uncle'; मातुलधातिन् 'who has killed his maternal uncle'; हन् + णिनि = घन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 54) = घन् + णिनि (VII. 3. 32) = धातिन् (VII. 2. 116).

This affix is employed only when censure is implied. Therefore it is not employed in चोरं हतवान् 'he has killed the thief'.

The *anuvritti* of the word कर्मणि of this aphorism extends up to *sūtra* III. 2. 96.

ब्रह्मभूषणवृत्रेषु क्विप् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रह्म-भूषण-वृत्रेषु, क्विप्, (कर्मणि, हन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रह्मादिषु कर्मसूपपदेषु हन्तेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

87. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb हन् 'to

kill' with the sense of past time,' when the following words in the accusative case are in composition: ब्रह्म 'a Brāhmaṇa', भ्रूण 'a foetus' and वृत्र 'Vritra'.

As ब्रह्महन्, 1st. sing. ब्रह्महा 'who has killed a Brāhmaṇa'; भ्रूणहा 'who has killed a foetus'; वृत्रहा 'who has killed Vritra, a name of Indra'.

Since by sūtra 76 *ante*, the affix क्विप् was ordained to come after all verbs, and therefore would have come after the verb हन् also, where is the necessity of the present aphorism? This aphorism makes a *niyama*. *i. e.* the verb हन् takes the affix क्विप् only when it is in composition with the words ब्रह्म &c. Four-fold restriction is here intended.

(1) When हन् has, as upapada, the words ब्रह्म &c., and not any other word; as पुरुषं हत्वान् 'he has killed the man'.

(2) When the words ब्रह्म &c. are upapadas of any other verb than हन्, then this affix is not employed; so that the verb must be हन्; thus ब्रह्माधीतवान् 'he has read the Veda'.

(3) The क्विप् is the only affix to denote past time in the case of हन् preceded by ब्रह्म &c., and no other affix can be employed in this sense.

(4) This is employed only in the past tense and not in any other tense; as ब्रह्माणं हन्ति or हन्मिष्यति 'he kills or will kill the Brāhmaṇa'. This sūtra anticipates the diversity taught in the next sūtra, and is an example of बहुलं use of the affix.

बहुलं छन्दसि॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ बहुलम्, छन्दसि, (हन्, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये उपपदांतरेपि हंतर्बहुलं क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. In the Chhandas, the affix क्विप् diversely comes after the verb हन्, 'to kill' with the sense of past time, even when the word in composition with it is other than those mentioned in the last aphorism.

This aphorism ordains क्विप् in cases which are not governed by the restrictive *nyāya* contained in the last aphorism. As मातृहा सप्तमं नरकं प्रविशेत् 'may the matricide enter the seventh hell'; so also पित्रहा 'patricide'.

Diversely we find also मातृघातः and पित्रघातः।

सुकर्मपापमन्त्रपुण्येषु कृजः ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-कर्म-पाप-मन्त्र-पुण्येषु, कृजः, (क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वार्थेषु कर्मसुपपदेषु करोतेर्द्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

89. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb कृ 'to make' with the sense of past time, when the following words in the accusative case are in composition:— सु 'well', कर्म 'action', पाप 'sin', मन्त्र 'hymn' and पुण्य 'virtue'.

The phrase 'in the accusative case' is understood in this aphorism, and applies to all the above-mentioned words, except सु, which being an attributive word, of course, cannot take any case-terminations. As सुकृत् (VI. 1. 71) 'who has done well'; कर्मकृत् 'who has done all works'; पापकृत् 'who has committed sins'; मंत्रकृत् 'who has made a mantra'; पुण्यकृत् 'who has done virtuous actions'.

This sūtra also ordains a restrictive rule or niyama. Three-fold restriction is intended here : namely, restrictions with regard to time, upapada, and affix ; but not with regard to verbs. See III. 2. 87. There being no restriction with regard to the root, this affix is employed when words other than these are upapadas. As, शास्त्रकृत् 'who has made Scriptures ; भाष्यकृत् 'who has made a commentary'. The कृ is added to the root by VI. 1. 71.

सोमे सुजः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ सोमे, सुजः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सोमे कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice', with the sense of past time, when the word सोम, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, सोमसुत् 'who has pressed the soma juice, or soma-distiller'; 1st. dual सोमसुतौ ; 1st. plural सोमसुतः ।

This sūtra is also for the sake of making a niyama or restrictive rule. The four-fold restriction is here intended. *i.e.* as regards the verb, the tense, the upapada and the affix.

अग्नौ चेः ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अग्नौ, चेः, (कर्मणि, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्नौ कर्मण्युपपदे सुनोतेर्धातोः क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when the word अग्नि, in the accusative case, is in composition.

As, अग्निचित् 'one who has kept the sacred fire'; 1st. dual अग्निचितौ ; 1st. plural अग्निचितः ।

Here also, as in the last aphorism, four-fold restriction is intended.

कर्मण्यग्नाख्यायाम् ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अग्नि-आख्या-याम्, (कर्मणि, चेः, क्विप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे धिनोतेः कर्मण्येव कारके क्विप्प्रत्ययो भवति अग्न्याख्यायाम् ॥

92. In expressing an object the affix क्विप् comes after the verb चि 'to collect' with the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case, provided the word so formed is the name of fire.

The words चेः and कर्मणि are understood in this sūtra. The Name is

expressed by taking the complete word consisting of the verbal root, the upa-pada and the affix. As *इयेनचित्* 'a fire which has been arranged in the shape of a hawk'; *कङ्कुचित्* 'fire arranged like a heron'.

The word *आख्या* indicates that these words are *rudhi* words, their sense depending upon usage rather than etymology. The arrangement of bricks for sacrificial purpose with regard to fire, gets these various names; that is, when the bricks are arranged like a falcon, it is called *इयेनचित्*, and so on.

कर्मणीनि विक्रियः ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, इनि, विक्रियः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे विपश्चात् कीर्णातेर्धातोरिनिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

93. The affix *इनि* comes after the compound verb *विक्र* 'to sell', in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

The repetition of the word *कर्मणि* in the sūtra, though its *anuvṛtti* might have been drawn from the last aphorism, indicates that when the object carries with it a sense of censure on the agent, then only this affix is employed and not with every and any object. As *सोमविक्रयिन्* 'the seller of soma plant'; *रसविक्रयिन्* 'the seller of liquors'; employing disapproval of the action of those persons who carry on these mean professions. But not so in *धान्यविक्राय* 'the seller of paddy'.

दृशेः क्वनिप् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशेः, क्वनिप्, (कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशेर्धातोः कर्मण्युपपदे क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

94. The affix *क्वनिप्* comes after the verb *दृश्* 'to see' in the sense of past time, when in composition with a word in the accusative case.

As *मेरुदृशन्*, 1st. sing. *मेरुदृशा* 'who has seen the Meru'. *परलोकदृशा* 'who has seen the hereafter.'

Though the affix *क्वनिप्* was valid by sūtra III. 2. 75 its repetition here shows that no other affix comes in this sense after this verb.

राजनि युधिक्रजः ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ राजनि, युधि-क्रजः, (कर्मणि, क्वनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ राजन् शब्दे कर्मण्युपपदे युध्यतेः करोतेश्च क्वनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. The affix *क्वनिप्* comes after the verbs *युध* 'to fight' and *क्व* 'to make' with a past signification when the word *राजन्* 'king' is in composition, in the accusative case.

How can the verb *युध*, which is an intransitive verb, govern an object? It is a transitive verb, inasmuch as it is taken to be a causative verb, with the *णिच्* affix latent. As *राजयुधन्*, 1st. sing. *राजयुधा* (VIII. 2. 7) 'who has caused the king to fight'; *राजकृत्स्न*, 1st. sing. *राजकृत्स्वा* (VI. 1. 71) 'who has made a king'.

सह च ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ सह, च, (युधि, रुजः, कनिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सहस्यन्ते चोपपदे युधिकृजोर्द्वातीः कनिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

96. The affix कनिप् comes after the verbs युध् and कृ, with a past signification, when the word सह 'with', is in composition.

The word सह, being a particle, and not denoting a substance, is incapable of taking any case. As सहयुध्वन् 'who has made to fight with'; सहकृत्वन् 'who has done any thing along with another'.

सप्तम्यां जनेर्ङः ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, जनेः, ङः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

97. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् 'to be produced', with a past signification, when the word, in composition with it, is in the locative case.

As उपसरे जातः = उपसरजः । जन् + ङ = ज् + अ (VI. 4. 143) = ज 'born of the first conception'; मन्दुरजः 'born in the stable'.

पञ्चम्यामजातौ ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पञ्चम्याम्, अजातौ, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पञ्चम्यन्त उपपदे जातिवर्जिते जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

98. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन्, with a past signification, when the word in composition with it, is in the ablative case, which does not denote a genus.

As बुद्धिजः 'born through understanding'; संस्कारजः 'born of habit'; दुःखजः 'born through pain'.

Why do we say 'when not denoting a genus'? Observe हस्तिनो जातः 'born of elephant'; अश्वाज्जातः 'born of horse'.

उपसर्गे च संज्ञायाम् ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, च, संज्ञायाम्, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे चोपपदे जनेर्ङः प्रत्ययो भवति संज्ञायां विषये ॥

99. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with a past signification, when an upasarga is in composition and when the sense is simply appellative.

The term here being simply appellative, and not descriptive, cannot be explained by giving the signification of its component elements. As प्रजाः 'people', or 'a son'; as in the sentence अयमा मानवी प्रजाः ।

अनौ कर्मणि ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ अनौ, कर्मणि, (जनेः, ङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपूर्वाजनेः कर्मण्युपपदे ङः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

100. The affix ङ comes after the verb जन् with

a past signification, when the root takes the preposition भुन् and is compounded with a word in the accusative case.

As पुमनुजा 'a girl born after the male child i. e. a girl having an elder brother'; स्त्रियमनुजः 'a boy born after the female child i. e. a boy having an elder sister'.

अन्येष्वपि दृश्यते ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येषु, अपि, दृश्यते, (जनेः, डः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येष्वप्युपपदेषु कारकेषु जनेर्डः प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

101. The affix ड is seen to come after the verb जन् with a past signification, though it be in composition with other nouns, having cases other than those mentioned in the previous sūtras.

Thus the locative case has been dealt with in sūtra III. 2. 97; but the affix comes when the upapada has any other case than the seventh. As न जायते = भजः 'unborn'; द्विजातः = द्विजः 'twice-born'.

Thus, it is said in sūtra III. 2. 98 that the upapada may be in the ablative case, when genus is not denoted. We see, however, the affix employed when genus is denoted. As ब्राह्मणजो धर्मः; क्षत्रियजं युद्धम्।

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 98 that when appellative is meant, the affix ड comes after the compound verb जन्. We find, however, the affix employed when the sense is not simply appellative; as अभिजाः or परिजाः 'born or produced all round i. e. hair'.

It is declared in sūtra III. 2. 100, 'When an object is in composition with the verb अनुजन् this affix is employed'. But it may also be employed when no object is in composition. As अनुजः 'born after i. e. younger brother'.

The force of the word अपि 'though' is to free this rule from all restrictions and conditions. So this affix comes after other verbs and other cases in composition with such verbs. As परितः खाता = परिखा 'a moat' (literally that which has been dug all round); आखा 'a pond'.

निष्ठा ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ निष्ठा, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्तक्त्वत् तिष्ठेत्क स निष्ठासंज्ञकः प्रत्ययो भूते भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ आदिकर्मणि निष्ठा वक्तव्या ॥

102. The affixes called निष्ठा come after a verbal root, employed with the sense of past time.

The affixes क्त and क्तवत् are निष्ठा (I. 1. 26). As कृ + क्त = कृतम् 'made'; कृ + क्तवत् = कृतवत्, 1st. sing. कृतवान् 'done'; so also भुक्तम् and भुक्तवान् 'eaten'.

Var. — The Nishthā affixes come when ādi-karma is meant. For a fuller description of what constitutes ādi-karma see sūtra III. 4. 71, and the illustrations under it. Thus प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः, प्रकृतवान् कटं देवदत्तः।

सुयजोर्ङ्वनिप् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-यजोः, ङ्वनिप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सुनोतेर्यजनेश्च ङ्वनिप् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix ङ्वनिप् comes after the verbs सु 'to press out or extract juice' and यज् 'to sacrifice', with a past signification.

As सु + ङ्वनिप् = सुत् + वन् (VI. 1. 71) = सुत्वन् 1st. sing. सुत्वा 'who has pressed out or extracted juice'; यज्वन्, 1st. sing. यज्वा 'who has sacrificed'. The न् is added by VI. 1. 71. See Rig. Ved. I. 3. 1.

जीर्यतेरत्नम् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जीर्यतेः, अत्नन्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीर्यतेरत्नम् प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

104. The affix अत्नन् comes after the verb जृ 'to grow old' with the sense of past time.

As जृ + अत्नन् = जैर् + अत् (VII. 3. 84) = जरत्, 1st. sing. जरन्, 1st. dl. जरन्तो, 1st. pl. जरन्तः 'grown old' (VII. 1. 70).

By the rule of वासरूप (III. 1. 94), the Nishthâ affixes also come after this verb. As जीर्णः and जीर्णवान्। जृ + क्त = जिर् + त (VII. 1. 100 and I. 1. 51) = जिर् + न (VIII. 2. 42) = जीर्ण (VIII. 2. 77 and VIII. 4. 1) 'grown old'.

छन्दसि लिट् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लिट्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातोर्लिट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. In the Chhandas, the affix लिट् comes after a verb with a past signification.

As अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श 'I saw the sun from both sides'; अहं आवापृथिवी आततान 'I stretched the heaven and the earth'. Here the words ददर्श and आततान have the force of nishthâ. See Vaj. Ved. VIII. 9.

Why this separate sâtra, when by aphorism III. 4. 61, in the Chhandas the *luṇ*, *laṇ* and *lit* come in all tenses? That rule is made with regards to two or more verbs when in syntactical relation (धातुसंबन्ध) with each other (III. 4. 1). The present rule is general, and without any such limitations.

Lit is the affix of the Present Perfect and will be fully treated of in the conjugation of verbs.

लिटः कानश्वा ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिटः, कानश्, वा; (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि लिटः कानादेशो भवति वा ॥

106. In the Chhandas the affix लिट् is optionally replaced by the affix कानश्।

As अग्निं चिकवानः 'he consecrated the fire'; सोमं सुपृषाणः 'he pressed the soma juice'. This being an optional affix, is sometimes not employed; as in the examples in the last aphorism.

Why has the word *lit* been repeated in this sūtra, when its anuvṛitti could have been drawn from the last sūtra? The substitute कानच् replaces not only the special लिट् of sūtra III. 2. 105, but the general लिट् which comes after the roots in forming the perfect tense; so that the affix कानच् forms verbal adjectives as well as the perfect tense.

This affix comes after those verbs only which take Atmanepada terminations. See I. 4. 100. तत्तुजान् (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 6).

कसुञ्च ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्वसुः, च, (हृन्दसि, लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हृन्दसि लिटः कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

107. In the Chhandas the affix क्वसु is optionally the substitute of लिट्.

As जलिवस् 1st. sing. जलिवान् 'eaten' (Yaj. VIII. 19); पपिवस् 1st. sing. पपिवान् 'drunk'.

Sometimes it does not come, as in the example under sūtra III. 2. 105, अहं सूर्यमुभयतो ददर्श.

The division of this sūtra from the last, in which it could well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of क्वसु only runs.

भाषायां सदक्वसुश्रुवः ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाषायाम्, सद-क्वसु-श्रुवः, (लिटः, क्वसुः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदक्वसु श्रु इत्येतेभ्यः परस्य लिटो भाषायां विषये वा कसुरादेशो भवति ॥

108. In the modern Sanskrit, the affix क्वसु optionally replaces लिट् after the verbs सद्, वस् and श्रु with a past signification.

This being a substitute only, the original affix लिट् also comes after these verbs. As, उपसेदिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम् 'Kautsa served Pāṇini'. In the alternative, the proper affixes of the past tense will be employed. As उपासदत् 'he served', उपासीदत् and उपससादत्.

So also अनूपिवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have अन्ववात्सीन्, अन्ववसत् and अनूवासत्.

So also उपाश्रुश्रुवान् कौत्सः पाणिनिम्. In the alternative we have उपाश्रोषीत्, उपाशृणोत् and उपशृभात्.

The affix क्वसु is employed with the force of लुङ् and जङ् also.

उपेयिवाननाश्वाननूचानश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपेयिवान्-अनाश्वान्-अनूचानः, (च) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

109. The forms उपेयिवान् अनाश्वान् अनूचान् are irregularly formed.

These forms are thus evolved:—To the verb इ 'to go' with the preposition उप, the affix क्वसु is added: as उप+इ+क्वसु. The root is reduplicated: as उप+ई+इ+क्वसु. The reduplicate is here long ई by VII. 4. 69. This long ई does not coalesce with the short इ by the rules of sandhi; for then the rule by which this ई was introduced would have no scope. Now we add the augment इट्, contrary and in opposition to the rule VII. 2. 67, and this is the irregularity. As उप+ई+इ+इट्+क्वसु. Then the root इ is replaced by य by sūtra VI. 4. 81. As उप+ई+य्+इट्+क्वसु=उपेयिवस् 1st. sing. उपेयिवान्. The augment इट् is however dropped in those cases (अ) where वस् is changed into उप्; because the insertion of इट् was itself an exceptional case of limited scope:—for while the general rules VII. 2. 75 &c. ordained it, the special rule of VII. 2. 67 prohibited it; and it was by prohibition of this prohibition that इट् was employed before वस्. Therefore in accusative plural we have उपेयुषः; instrumental sing उपेयुषा &c.

This irregular* participle is not limited to the upasarga उप; we find such irregular forms with other upasargas and without them also; thus समीयिवान्, and ईयिवान् as well.

By the anuvṛitti of the word वा read in this aphorism, we have लुङ् &c. in the alternative. As in Aorist उपागात्, Imperfect उपेत्, Perfect उपेयाय ।

The word अनाध्वान् is thus formed:—To the verb भग् 'to enjoy' we add the negative particle अन; apply the affix क्सु and do not insert the augment इट्; so, we have अन+भग्+क्वसु=अनाध्वस्, 1st. sing. अनाध्वान्. In the alternative we have Aorist नाशित्, Imperfect नाशत् and Perfect नाश.

The word अनुज्ञानः is thus derived:—The affix कानच् is added in expressing the agent to the verb वच् preceded by अनु. In the alternative we have Aorist अनुवोचन्, Imperfect अनुव्रवीत्, Perfect अनुवाच.

८४ लुङ् ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ लुङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेष्वेव वर्त्तमानाद्धातोर्लुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वसतर्लुङ् रात्रिशेषे जागरणसन्ततौ वक्तव्यः ॥

110. The affix लुङ् comes after a verb in the sense of past time.

The लुङ् forms what is known as aorist. It is in fact the name of the aorist, as the whole of this affix is replaced by other personal terminations. See III. 1. 43 and subsequent sūtras.

* The aorist has reference to a past time indefinitely or generally, without reference to any particular time. An action done before today is expressed by the perfect or imperfect; whatever remains for the aorist is, therefore, to express a past action, done very *recently*, say, in the course of the current day or having reference to a present act. Aorist, therefore, merely implies the completion of an action at a past time *generally*, and also an action done at a

very recent time, as during the course of this day. The imperfect and perfect are used in narrating events of past occurrence, generally in remote past time ; the aorist is used in dialogues and conversations which refer to recent past actions, but it is not used to denote past specified time or to narrate events'.—Apte's Composition. As अकार्षीत् 'he did' ; अहर्षीत् 'he took'.

Vart.—The affix लृङ् comes after the verb वस् 'to dwell', when 'end of the present night' is indicated. Supposing a person rising from his bed at the proper time of rising (not in the middle of the night, but in the early morning) and finding another near him were to ask that one, 'where did you dwell &c. pass the night' ? That person so asked should answer in the लृङ् and not in लङ्. As अमुत्रावात्सम् 'I dwelt there'; and not अमुत्रावसम्.

Vart.—The above rule applies only in connection with waking after regular sleep. He who has not slept the whole night, but only for half an hour or so, should reply अमुत्रावसम्.

अनद्यतने लृङ् ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृङ्, (भूते) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवियमानायतने भूतेऽयं वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परोक्षे च लोकविज्ञाते प्रयोक्तुर्दूरेणविषये लङ् वक्तव्यः ॥

111. The affix लृङ् comes after a verbal root employed in the sense of past before the commencement of the current day.

The word अनद्यतन is a Bahuvrihi compound, meaning that which has not occurred during the course of the current day (*adyatana*). The whole of this affix is replaced by conjugational terminations, and the affix लृङ् by itself denotes the Imperfect tense. As अकरोत् 'he did'; अहरत् 'he took'.

Why have we explained *anadyatana* as a Bahuvrihi compound ? Because when there is a doubt as to the time, whether it was to-day or yesterday, there the Imperfect should not be used. As अद्य ह्यौ वा अभुज्जुमहि 'we ate to-day or yesterday'. In such a case the affix is लृङ्.

Vart :—The affix लृङ् is also employed in signifying what is not witnessed by the narrator, when it relates to a well-known public event which can form the object of perception by the narrator. Thus in speaking of a recent public occurrence we may say:—अरुणद् यवनः साकेतम् 'the Yavanas have besieged Sāketa'; अरुणद् यवनः माध्यमिकान् 'the Yavanas have besieged Mādhyamika'.

Why do we say 'not witnessed by the speaker'? Observe उद्गात् आरिषः 'the sun arose'. Why do we say 'a popular public event' ? Observe चकार कटः देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has made the mat'. Why do we say 'which is the object of perception by the speaker' ? Observe जघान कंसं किल वासुदेवः 'Vāsudeva killed Kansa'.

अभिज्ञावचने लृट् ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अभिज्ञा-वचने, लृट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञा स्मृतिस्तद्वचन उपपदे भूतानद्यतने लृट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. When a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, a verb takes the affix लृट् (2nd future) in the sense of the past before the commencement of the present day.

The word अभिज्ञा means 'recollection'. This rule sets aside the affix लृङ्. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरेषु वरव्यामः 'rememberest thou, Devadatta, we were dwelling (lit. we will dwell) in Kashmir'.

The word वचन meaning 'signification' in the sūtra, denotes that the construction is the same when the synonyms of अभिज्ञा are used; as स्मरसि 'dost thou remember'; बुध्यसे 'dost thou know'; चेतयसे 'dost thou reflect'; and the like.

न यदि ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, (अभिज्ञावचने, लृट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्द सहिते अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे लृट्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

113. The affix लृट् (the 2nd future) is not applied in the sense of the past, when the upapada denoting recollection has in connection with it the particle यत्.

This prohibits लृट् which the verb वस् obtained from the last sūtra. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरेष्ववसाम 'thou rememberest Devadatta how we did dwell in Kashmir'. Here the mere fact of dwelling is recollected, there being no other idea implied; therefore the subsequent aphorism has no scope here. That aphorism has its scope, when with recollection, is added another dependent idea or action, without which the sentence is not complete.

विभाषा साकांक्षे ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, साकांक्षे, (लृट्, अभिज्ञावचने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिज्ञावचन उपपदे यच्छब्दसहिते केवले च विभाषा लृट्प्रत्ययो भवति साकांक्ष-
शेषयोक्ता ॥

114. The affix लृट् is optionally applied in the sense of the past, when a word implying 'recollection' is in connection with it, and whether such word has the particle यत् or is employed simply; provided that the two verbs, occurring in the same complex sentence, are so connected together, that each is necessary to the other, to complete the sense of the speaker.

The word साकांक्षा means the relation between the sign and the thing signified, wished for or wanted by the speaker, or in other words, when the first verb is related to another verb used in the same sentence, as a sign is to that which is indicated by the sign. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गमिष्यामः, तत्र सक्तुं

पास्यामः or अभिजानासि देवदत्त कश्मीरान् गच्छाम, तत्र सक्तून् पिवाम, 'do you remember Devadatta we went to Kashmir and there did drink Saktu'.

This option is allowed whether the particle यत् is or is not used. As अभिजानासि देवदत्त यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छामः (or यत् कश्मीरान् गच्छाम,) यत् तत्रौदनं भोक्ष्यामहे (or यत् तत्रौदनमभुञ्जमहि) 'Do you recollect, Devadatta how we went to Kashmir and how we ate rice there'.

In the above examples, the verb 'to go' is the sign, and the 'eating' or 'drinking', in the second sentence, is the thing really signified; the first verb is necessary as an introduction to the thought of the speaker which dwells more upon the second verb. Here the second sentence or proposition is used as completion or complement of the first proposition.

परोक्षे लिट् ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ परोक्षे, लिट्, (भूते, अनद्यतने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे वर्तमानास्ततोर्लिट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अत्यन्तापन्हवे च लिट्प्रत्ययः ॥

115. The affix लिट् comes after a verb in the sense of the past before the commencement of the current day and unperceived by the narrator.

The word परोक्ष 'unperceived' qualifies the words भूत 'past' and अनद्यतन 'non-current day' understood in this aphorism.

'Well, are not the senses of verbs *all* unperceived, since they are mere words, and words cannot be perceived? Exactly so; but in popular phraseology, the perception is imagined to attach to the agent with regard to certain verbs; this rule relates to cases where such perception does not take place. As, चकार 'he did'; जहार 'he took'.

'It is evident that the लिट् (perfect) should not be used in the first person, *i. e.* when the agent of the action is the speaker or writer himself; for it is impossible that the action should not have been witnessed by him. But if by reason of some distracted, unconscious or absent state of mind, it is possible for the agent to speak of the action as one, of which he was not a conscious witness, the perfect may be used even in the first person. As सुप्तोऽहं किल विज्जनाप 'indeed I prated while asleep'.

Vart :—The perfect should be employed (in denoting past time simply, whether of the current day or otherwise, and whether the action has been witnessed personally or not) if the sense is total denial of the action. As कलिङ्गेषु स्थितोऽसि ? नाहं कलिङ्गम् जगाम 'did you live in the Kalinga country? I did not even go to the Kalinga country'; दक्षिणपथं प्रविष्टोऽसि ? नाहं दक्षिणपथं प्रविवेश.

हशश्वतोर्लिङ् च ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह-शश्वतोः, लिङ्, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थे लिटि प्राप्ते हशश्वतोरुपपद्योर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराल्लिट् च ॥

116. And the affix लङ् comes after a verb when the particles इ and शब्त् are in connection with it, and when the verb denotes past action unperceived by the speaker, and before the commencement of the current day.

The force of च 'and' is that the affix लिट् (perfect) may also be employed in similar construction. As इति हाकरोत् (imperfect), or इति ह चकार (perfect) 'Alas ! he did it'. शब्दकरोत् or शब्दचकार 'again and again he did it'.

प्रश्ने चासन्नकाले ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रश्ने, च, आसन्नकाले, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे, लङ्, लिट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आसन्नकाले पृच्छ्यमानो भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षेऽर्थवर्त्तमानादातोर्लङ् लिटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

117. The affixes लङ् (imperfect) and लिट् (perfect) come after a verb (in expressing a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker) when the past time referred to is recent, and the sentence is interrogative.

This sūtra also qualifies the words भूत, अनद्यतन and परोक्ष understood in this sūtra. The word प्रश्न means 'what should be asked'; and आसन्नकाल 'time close at hand': As, some one may ask another, अगच्छद् देवदत्तः or जगाम देवदत्तः 'did Devadatta go or has Devadatta gone (just now)?' अयजद् देवदत्तः or इयाज देवदत्तः 'Did Devadatta sacrifice or has Devadatta sacrificed?'

Why do we say 'in asking question? Otherwise there would be Perfect tense only. As, जगाम देवदत्तः 'Devadatta has gone'.

Why do we say 'when the past time referred to is imminently recent? Observe भवन्तं पृच्छामि, जघान कंसं किञ्च वासुदेवः 'I ask you, did Krishna indeed kill Kansa in days of yore'.

लट् रमे ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लट्, रमे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, परोक्षे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्मशब्द उपपदे भूतानद्यतनपरोक्षे लट् प्रत्ययौ भवति ॥

118. The affix लट् (present), comes after a verb, when the particle स्म is in connection with it, (and denotes a past time not belonging to the current day and unperceived by the speaker).

All the words within brackets are understood in this aphorism. This debars लिट् or the perfect tense. Thus यजति स्म युधिष्ठिरः 'Yudhishtira sacrificed'; so also नज्जेन स्म पुराधीयते । उर्णया स्म पराधीयते ॥

अपरोक्षे च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपरोक्षे, च, (भूते, अनद्यतने, रमे, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपरोक्षे च भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्वातोः स्मउपपदे लट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

119. The affix लट् (present) comes after a verb when the particle स्म is in connection with it, and denotes a past action not belonging to the current day, and when the action is perceived by the agent.

As एवं स्म पिता ब्रवीति 'thus said the father'; इति स्मोपाध्यायः कथयति 'thus said the preceptor'.

ननौ पृष्ठप्रतिवचने ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ ननौ, पृष्ठ-प्रतिवचने, (भूते, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्द उपपदे प्रश्नपूर्वके प्रतिवचने भूतेऽर्थे लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix लट् is employed after a verb in denoting past action, when the word ननु is in connection with it, and an answer is given to a question.

The anuvritti of the words 'anadyatana' and 'paroksha' does not extend to this sūtra. This declares a rule with regard to past time in general. This debars लुङ् (the Aorist tense). As अकार्षीः कटं वेवदत् ?—ननु करोमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you make the mat? O, yes, I did make it'. अद्योचस्तत्र किञ्चिद् वेवदत्,—ननु ब्रवीमि भोः 'Devadatta, did you speak there anything? O, yes, I did speak'.

Why do we say 'in reply to an interrogation'? Observe नन्वकार्षीन् माणवकः 'certainly, Mānavaka did it'.

नन्वोर्विभाषा ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ न-न्वोः, विभाषा, (भूते, पृष्ठ-प्रति-वचने, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ननुशब्दे ननुशब्दे चोपपदे पृष्ठप्रतिवचने विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति भूते ॥

121. The affix लट् comes optionally after a verb, in denoting past time, in reply to an interrogation, when the words न 'not' and नु 'what of that' are in connection with it.

As, अकार्षीः कटं वेवदत्,—न करोमि भोः or नाकार्षम्;—अहं नु करोमि or अहं न्वकार्षम् 'Devadatta, did you make the mat?—No I did not;—what of that, I did'.

पुरि लुङ् चास्मे ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुरि, लुङ्, च, अस्मे, (भूते, अनद्यतने, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुराशब्द उपपदे स्मशब्दवर्जिते भूतानद्यतनेऽर्थे विभाषा लुङ्प्रत्ययो भवति लट् च ॥

122. Optionally the affixes लुङ् and लट् come after a verb, in denoting past time not belonging to the current day, when the word पुरा is used in the sentence, provided that the word स्म is not used.

The anuvṛitti of the word *anadyatāna* which had come to a stop with III. 2. 120 manifests itself again in this sūtra by a process of jumping over the two intermediate aphorisms. This sort of anuvṛitti is technically called *manduka-pluti* 'the leap of a frog' i. e. skipping of several sūtras and supplying a word from a previous sūtra.

This is an optional rule, so that when *lat* and *lun* are not used, the proper tenses, as the case may be, must be employed. As वसन्तीह पुरा छात्राः 'the pupils lived here formerly'. So also, Aorist, भवत्सुः पुरा छात्राः ; Imperfect, भवसन्निह पुरा छात्राः ; Perfect, क्वचिह पुरा छात्राः ।

Why do we say 'when the word स्म is not used'? Observe यजति स्म पुरा बुधिशिरः 'Yudhishtira did perform a sacrifice formerly'. Here rule 118 *ante* exerts its influence.

वर्तमाने लट् ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमाने, लट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आरब्धोऽपस्मिमासश्च वर्तमानस्तस्मिन् वर्तमानेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्धानोल्लेख्यतयो भवति ॥

123. The affix लट् comes after a verb when denoting a present action.

The word वर्तमान means that which is begun and which has not yet come to an end. The action denoted by a verb in the present tense is yet continuing and has not stopped. As पचति 'he is cooking'; पठति 'he is reading'. So also whatever is constant, regular, uniform, is represented by the Present Indefinite. As तिष्ठन्ति पर्वताः 'the mountains stand'; स्रवन्ति नद्यः 'the rivers flow'.

लटः शतृशानच्चावप्रथमासमानाधिकरणे ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लटः,

शतृ-शानच्ची, अवप्रथमा-समानाधिकरणे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लटः शतृशानच्चाविरयेतावदेशौ भवतः अवप्रथमान्तेन चेतस्य सामानाधिकरण्यं भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ माह्व्याक्रोशे ॥

124. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are substitutes of लट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix.

As पचमानं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta who is cooking'; पचता कृतम् 'or पचमानेन कृतम् 'done by one who is cooking'. पच्+शानच्=पच्+शप्+शानच् (III. 4. 113, III. 1. 68)=पच्+अ+मुक्+आन (VII. 2. 82)=पचमान । So also पच्+शप्+शतृ=पच्+अ+अन्=पचत् ।

Why do we say 'when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix'? Observe देवदत्तः पचति 'Devadatta cooks'.

Since the term लट् might have been supplied from the last aphorism, its double citation is for the sake of larger application of this rule; that is to say, this rule applies sometimes even when the word is in concord with a nominative case. As सन् ब्राह्मणः 'who is a Brāhmaṇa'=अस्ति ब्राह्मणः ; so also

विद्यते ब्राह्मणः and विद्यमानो ब्राह्मणः ; जुहूत् and जुहोति ; and अधीयानः and अधीते ।

Vart.—These affixes are employed after a verb, when the particle माङ् is in composition, and censure or curse is implied. As मा रन्धन् and मा पचमानः 'may he not cook' ; मा जीवन् यः परावज्ञातुः खल्वधोऽपि जीवति 'cursed be he (lit. may he not live) who though smitten by the pain of the contempt of others, still lives'. Some commentators read the anuvṛitti of the word 'option' from sūtra 121 into this. That option, however, is a limited option (*vyavasthita-vibhāśhā*) and not of universal application. Whenever a particular form is found as differing from the general form, there it should be understood that the option has been allowed, and not everywhere.

सम्बोधने च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम्बोधने, च, (लटः, शतृशानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्बोधने च विषये लटः शतृशानचौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

125. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् even when agreeing with what ends with a first case-affix, provided that it is in the vocative case.

This aphorism declares when these participles may be employed even in the first case ; as हे पचन् or हे पचमान 'O thou who art cooking'.

लक्षणेहेत्वोः क्रियायाः ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्षणेहेत्वोः, क्रियायाः, (लटः, शतृ-शानचौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्षणे हेतौ चार्थं वर्तमानाद्भातोः परस्य लटः शतृशानचावादेशौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ लक्षणेहेत्वोः क्रियायाः गुण उपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ तत्वाख्यानं च ॥

126. The affixes शतृ and शानच् are the substitutes of लट् and come after a verb, in expressing an attendant circumstance or characteristic, and the cause of an action.

The word लक्षण means that by which a thing is recognised or known i. e. an attribute ; हेतु means producer or cause. Both these words are attributes of the word क्रिया. Of *lakshana*:—as, शयानाः भुञ्जते यवनाः 'the Yavanas take their meals lying down'. तिष्ठन्तोऽनुशासति गणकाः । Of *hetu*:—as हरिं पश्यन् मुच्यते 'by (reason of) seeing Hari, he gets absolution' ; अधीयानो वसति 'for the sake of study he dwells here'.

Why do we say 'when denoting a characteristic or a cause' ? Observe पचति 'he cooks' ; पठति 'he reads'.

Why do we say 'of the action' ? Not so when the participle is the characteristic or cause of a substance or a quality. As यः कम्पते दोऽश्वथः 'that which is shaking is the Aswattha' ; यदुत्सवते तल्लघु 'whatever floats is 'light' ; यत्तिथ्यति तद्गुरु 'that which sinks down is heavy'.

Vart.—This participle also defines the agent of an action as, *योऽधीयान् भास्ते स देवदत्तः* 'he is Devadatta who sits studying'.

Vart.—This participle is also used 'to state a general truth : as *शयानां वर्धते दूर्वा* 'the *Dūrvā* grass grows in a recumbent position'; *असीनं वर्धते विसं* 'a lotus stalk grows in an upright position'. The compound *लक्षणहेत्वोः* of the sūtra contradicts the rule by which a word of fewer syllables stands first (II. 2. 14). This shows that the rule II. 2. 14. is not universal.

तौ सत् ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ तौ, सत्, (शतृ-शानच्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तौ शतृशानच् सत्संज्ञौ भवतः ॥

127. These two शतृ and शानच् are called सत्.

These participial affixes get collectively this name ; and as such they are not limited by the conditions enumerated above ; so that they replace not only the affixes of the Present tense but sometimes of Future also (III. 3. 14.), as well as other tenses.' Thus *ब्राह्मणस्य कुर्वन्, करिष्यन्, कुर्वाणः, करिष्यमाणः* ।

The word सत् occurs in sūtra II. 2. 11. &c.

पूङ्यजोः शानन् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पूङ्-यजोः, शानन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूङ्गे यजेश्च धातोः शानन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ द्विषः शतुर्वा वचनम् ॥

128. The affix शानन् comes after the verbs पू 'to purify' and यज् 'to sacrifice'.

As *पवमानः* 'purifier (fire or air)' ; *यजमानः* 'sacrificer'.

It might be asked 'is the शानन् with others that follow, an affix *suo generis*, or is it merely a substitute of ल, as शतृ and शानच् ? Why we ask this question is this. If they are affixes and not substitutes of ल, then they should govern genitive case by rule II. 3. 65. instead of nominative or the accusative. If, on the other hand, they are substitutes of ल, then by rule II. 3. 69. they should not govern the genitive case. But evidently they are not the substitutes of ल, as they are not so 'taught. How is it then that we have such forms as *सोमं पवमानः* 'drinking Soma'; and *नडमाप्नानः* ? These forms can be explained on other grounds than supposing that शानन् &c. must be the substitutes of ल. The term हन् in sūtra II. 3. 69. is not the affix हन् taught in this Chapter sūtra 135 ; but it is a *pratyāhāra* including several affixes. It is a *pratyāhāra* formed by taking the ह of शतृ in sūtra 124 ; and न् of हन् in 135 ; and thus it means all the affixes from शतृ in 134 down to हन् in 135. Thus though शानन्, चानश् &c. are not substitutes of ल, still the rule II. 3. 69. applies to them, as they are included in the term हन्.

Vart.—The rule II. 3. 69. applies only optionally when the verb द्विष takes the affix शतृ. As *चोरहन्* or *चोरं द्विषन्*, 'hating the thief'.

ताच्छील्यवयोवचनशक्तिषु चानश् ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ताच्छील्य-
वयः-वचन-शक्तिषु, चानश् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ताच्छील्यारिषु धातोश्चानश्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix चानश् comes after a verb in expressing 'habit', 'standard of age' and 'ability'.

The word ताच्छील्य means 'habit' or 'disposition'; वयः means the condition of body such as 'infancy', 'youth' &c; शक्ति means 'capacity to do a thing'. As भोगं भुञ्जानः 'habituated to enjoy'; कवचं विभ्राणः 'wearing an armour (of the age at which armour may be worn)'; शत्रुं निघ्नानः 'able to destroy his foe'. So also, कर्तोह मुण्डयमानाः, भूषयमानाः, कवचं पर्यस्यमानाः, शिखण्डं वहमानाः and पचमानाः ।

इङ्धार्योः शत्रुकृच्छ्रिणि ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ इङ्-धार्योः, शत्रु,
अकृच्छ्रिणि ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धारेश्च धात्वोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति अकृच्छ्रिणि कर्तरि ॥

130. The affix शत्रु comes after the verbs इङ् 'to go' and धारि 'to hold' in denoting that the agent does the action without trouble.

The word अकृच्छ्रि means that which is accomplished by the agent with ease and facility. As अभीयन् पारायणम् 'the facile reading of the Purāṇa'; धारयन् उपनिषदम् 'easily mastering the Upanishad'. The root धारि is causative of धृ and means here 'to master'.

Why do we say 'when facility is indicated'? Otherwiscकृच्छ्रेणाधीते 'he reads with difficulty'; कृच्छ्रेण धारयति 'he remembers with difficulty'.

द्विषोऽमित्रे ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, अमित्रे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अमित्रे कर्तरि द्विषेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

131. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb द्विष when the agent indicated means an enemy.

The word अमित्र means 'enemy'. As द्विषन् 'enemy', द्विषन्तो 'two enemies', द्विषन्तः 'enemies'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an enemy'? Observe द्वेष्टि भार्यो पतिम् 'the wife hates her husband'.

सुजो यज्ञसंयोगे ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुजः, यज्ञ-संयोगे, (शत्रु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञसंयुक्तेऽभिषवे वर्तमानात्सुनोतेर्धातोः शत्रुप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

132. The affix शत्रु comes after the verb सु 'to press out juice' when the sense is that of association with sacrifice.

The word **यज्ञसंयोग** is an instrumental compound, meaning association or connection (संयोग) with sacrifice. As **सु+नु+छद** (III. 1. 76, III. 4. 113) = **सुनु+** + **अत्** (I. 2. 4.) = **सुन्वत्** (VI. 1. 77), 1st. sing. **सुन्वन्**; 1st. pl. **सुन्वन्तः** 'the sacrificers'; as in **सर्वे सुन्वन्तः** 'all are interested in, or partake of, or share in the sacrifice'.

The word **संयोग** indicates that the principal sacrificer, *i. e.* the **यज्ञमान** is meant and not every person who is associated in the performance of a sacrifice in a subordinate capacity; such as **दाजकाः** 'the sacrificing priests'.

When connection with sacrifice is not meant we have **सुनोति सुराम्** 'he distils liquor'.

अहं: प्रशंसायाम् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं:, प्रशंसायाम्, (शतृ)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहंतर्द्धातोः प्रशंसायां शतृप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. The affix **शतृ** comes after the verb **अहं** in expressing praise.

As **अहंनिह भवान्विद्याम्** 'thou art worthy of this knowledge here'; **अहंनिह भवान्पूजाम्** 'thou art worthy of honor in this place'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to praise'? Witness **अहंति चोरो वधम्** 'the thief deserves death'.

आ क्वेस्तच्छीलतदुर्मतत्साधुकारिषु ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आ, क्वे:, तच्छील-तदुर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आ एतस्मात् क्विप्संज्ञाद्यानित ऊर्द्धमनुक्रमिष्यामस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ते वेदितव्याः ॥

134. From this sūtra as far as **क्विप्** in sūtra 177 inclusive, the affixes that we shall treat of, are to be understood in the sense of agents having such a habit, or nature, or having skill in such and such action.

The force of **आ** in this sūtra is limit inclusive, and includes **क्विप्** also. The term **तच्छील** means 'the natural inclination towards an action not prompted by a contemplation of its fruit or result'. The term **तदुर्म** means 'who enters upon an action not from habit but thinking that it is his duty'. The term **तत्साधुकारि** means 'who does the action expressed by the verb in an excellent way'. Illustrations of these will be given under the subsequent aphorisms.

तृन् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ तृन्, (तच्छील-तदुर्म-तत्साधुकारिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सर्वधातुभ्यस्तृन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ तन्निधातृनिवन्तु म्वातृपसर्गस्य ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ नयतेः पुक् च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ स्वधेर्देवतायामकारश्चोपधाया अनिदृत्वञ्च ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ क्षवेश्च नियुक्ते, ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्वसि ढञ्च ॥

135. The affix ^६त्न् comes after all verbs in the 'sense of 'agents having' such a habit &c'.

The न् of त्न् is indicatory, and regulates the accent (VI. I. 197). As कृ + त्न् = कर्त्तृ, 1st sing. कर्ता. This affix denotes *habit* in the following; as, कर्ता कश्चिन् 'who is accustomed to make mats. *Nature*:—as, मुण्डयितारः श्राविशायना भवन्ति वधूमताम् 'the family of Srāvishtāyana shave the heads of their widows'; अन्नमप-हसारं आह्वरका भवन्ति आह्वे सिद्धे 'the Ahvarakas steal away food as soon as Srāddha is accomplished'; उज्जैतारस्तौल्वलायना भवन्ति पुत्रे जाने 'the Taulvalāyanas become elated on the birth of a son'. *Skill*:—as, कर्ता कश्चिन् 'skilful maker of mats'. गन्तास्सखेदम् 'skilful hunter'.

Vart:—The simple verbs, without upasargas, take the affix त्न्, when the words so formed are names of sacrificial priests. As हु + त्न् = होत्र, 1st. sing. होता 'the *Hotri* priest'; so also पोट्र 'the *Potri* priest'.

Why do we say 'when not taking the upasargas'? Observe उद्गात्र 'the *Udgātri* priest'; प्रतिहर्त्र 'the *Pratihartri* priest'. Here the affix is त्च्. Though the form is the same, there is difference however in the accent; *i. e.* त्न् places udātta accent on the first syllable (VI. I. 197), while त्च् places it on the last (VI. I. 163).

Vart:—The augment षुक् is added when नी takes the affix त्न्; as नो + षुक् + त्न् = नेष्ट्र, 1st. sing. नेष्टा 'the *Neshtri* priest'.

Vart:—When signifying diety, the verb त्विष् takes त्न्; the letter अ is the substitute for the इ of the root; and the affix does not take the intermediate इद् augment; as, त्विष् + त्न् = त्वष्ट्र, 1st. sing. त्वष्टा 'Tvashtri'.

Vart:—The root क्षत्र takes त्न्, when the word to be formed means an officer; as क्षत्र 'an attendant, a door-keeper'.

Vart:—In the Veda, the root क्षत्र takes त्च्, as क्षत्र. The form is the same as the last, but there is difference of accent.

अलंकञ्जिराकञ्प्रजनोत्पद्योत्पतोन्मदरुच्यपन्नपवृत्तुवृधुसहचरः
इष्णुश्च ॥ १३६ ॥ पैदानि ॥ अलंकञ्-निराकञ्-प्रजन-उत्पद्य-उत्पत-उन्मद-
रुचि-अपन्नप-वृत्त-वृधु-सह-चरः, इष्णुश्च, (तच्छीलादिषु, कर्तृषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अलंकृज्जादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुश्चप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अलंकृजोमण्डनार्थाद्युचः पूर्वविप्रतिषेधेनेष्णुवक्तव्यः ॥

136. The affix इष्णुच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of the 'agents having such a habit &c'; viz.—अलंकृ 'to adorn', निराकृ 'to expel', प्रजन् 'to be born', उत्पद्य 'to be ripe', उत्पत 'to fly', उन्मद 'to be mad', रुच् 'to shine', अपन्न 'to be ashamed', वृन् 'to be', वृध् 'to grow', सह् 'to bear' and चर् 'to walk'.

As अलङ्करीष्णुः 'decorating', निराकरीष्णुः 'repudiating', प्रजननीष्णुः 'procreative', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'apt to ripen', उत्पत्तिष्णुः 'flying', उन्मदीष्णुः 'mad', रोचिष्णुः 'bright', अपत्रपिष्णुः 'bashful', वर्तिष्णुः 'revolving', वद्धिष्णुः 'growing', सहिष्णुः 'patient', चरिष्णुः 'moveable'.

Vart.—The affix इष्णुच् debares by anticipation the affix युच् of III. 2. 151, after the root अलङ्कृ, though it has the sense of decorating'.

गोष्ठदंसि ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोः, छंदसि, (तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्यन्ताद्धातोर्गच्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

137. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas after a verb that ends in the causative णि.

The Causatives take this affix in the Vedic literature. As कृषवं धारयिष्णवः 'who hold the stones'; वीरुधः पारयिष्णवः ।

भुवश्च ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, च, (छंदसि, तच्छीलादिषु, इष्णुच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोर्गच्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु इष्णुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

138. The affix इष्णुच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes in the Chhandas, after the verb भू 'to be' also.

Thus भविष्णुः 'becoming'.

The *yoga-vibhāga* or the division of this sūtra from the last, with which it could well have been read, is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras.

The word 'also' indicates the existence of other verbs not included in the above two sūtras ; as, भ्राजिष्णुना लोहितचन्दनेन ।

ग्लाजिस्थश्च क्स्नुः ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्ला-जि-स्थः, च, क्स्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्ला जि स्था इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्चकाराद् भुवश्च तच्छीलादिषु क्स्नुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ वंगोर्गच्छन्दस्युपसंख्यानम् ॥

139. The affix क्स्नु comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' viz.—ग्ला 'to be weary', जि 'to conquer' and स्था 'to stand', as well as after भू 'to be'.

As, ग्लास्नुः 'languid'; जिष्णुः 'victorious'; स्थास्नुः 'disposed to stand firm, immoveable'; भूष्णुः 'being'.

The anuvṛtti of the word *Chhandasi* does not extend to this sūtra. The indicatory letter of this affix is really ग and not क, and therefore, there is

no substitution of long ई for the आ of स्था, which would otherwise have taken place, had the affix been क्तिन् (VI. 4. 66).

In the sūtra I. 1. 5. (कङ्क्षिति च) the letter ग is also included ; for ग coming before क, is changed by the rules of *sandhi* into क and is not therefore visible. This affix therefore does not cause *guna*.

So also in sūtra VII. 2. 11 (अयुक्ः किति), the augment इद् does not come after the verb स्नु, or a monosyllabic verb ending in the pratyāhāra उक्, when an affix having an indicatory क follows. Here also क includes ग ; and therefore in भूष्णु we have no intermediate augment इद्.

Vart.—In the Chhandas this affix comes after the verb वंश 'to bite' ; as वंक्षणवः पशवः 'the beasts that bite'.

त्रसि-गृधि-धृषि-क्षिपेः क्नुः ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ त्रसि-गृधि-धृषि-क्षिपेः,
क्नुः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ त्रसादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्नुः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. The affix क्नु comes after the verbs त्रस् 'to tremble', गृध् 'to be greedy', धृष् 'to be bold' and क्षिप् 'to throw' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As, त्रस्तुः 'trembling'; गृध्तुः 'greedy'; धृष्टुः 'bold'; and क्षिप्तुः 'throwing'.

शमित्यष्टाभ्यो घिनुन् ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शम्-इति-अष्टाभ्यः,
घिनुन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शमादिभ्यो धातुभ्योऽष्टाभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु घिनुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

141. The affix घिनुन् comes after the eight verbs beginning with शम् 'to be calm', in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The word इति in the aphorism indicates beginning. These eight verbs begin with शम् and end with मद् in the list of verbs. Of the affix घिनुन् the real affix is इन्, the च्छ letters are servile ; the घ is for the sake of substituting guttural for the final palatals ; उ is for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of rule VI. 3. 45 ; and the letter ण् causes vriddhi (VII. 2. 116) : which in the case of roots ending in म is prohibited by the rule VII. 3. 34, the only verb taking vriddhi being मद् ।

As शमिन् 1st. sing. शमी 'calm'; likewise तमी 'desiring'; हमी 'taming'; अमी 'laborious'; भ्रमी 'whirling', 'moving round'; क्लमी 'fatiguing'; क्षमी 'forbearing'; प्रमादी 'mad' and उन्मादी 'mad'. Though by rule 136, the verb उन्मद् takes the affix इष्णुच्, it also takes the affix घिनुन् by the rule of वाञ्छस्त्व (III 1 94).

All these verbs belong to the *Divādi* class. After other verbs than these eight, we have other affixes ; as असिता.

संपृचानुरुधामाङ्यसपरिसुसंज्ञपरिदेविसंज्ञपरिक्षिपपरिरट
परिवदपरिदहपरिमुहदुषद्विषदुहदुहयुजाक्रीडविविचत्यजरभजातिचरापचरा-
मुषाम्याहनश्च ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संपृच-अनुरुध-आङ्यम-आङ्यस-परिसु-
संज्ञ-परिदेवि-संज्ञर-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परिवद-परिदह-परिमुह-दुष-द्विष-दुह-
दुह-युज-आक्रीड-विविच-त्यज-रज-भज-अतिचर-अपचर-आमुष-अभ्याहनः,
च, (तच्छीलादिषु, चिनुण्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्पृचादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix चिनुण् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. viz :— संपृच्, अनुरुध्, आयम्, आयस्, परिसृ, संज्ञच्, परिदेव्, संज्ञर, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवद्, परिदह्, परिमुह्, दुष, द्विष, दुह, दुह्, युज्, आक्रीड्, विविच्, त्यज्, रज्, भज्, अतिचर्, अपचर्, आमुष् and अभ्याहन्.

The root संपृच् is to be taken as belonging to the Rudhâdi class, and not as belonging to Adâdi, because the vikaraṇa is elided in the latter. The root परिदेवि belongs to Bhvâdi class, the simple verb being देव् 'to sport'. The verb क्षिप् 'to throw' is common both to Tudâdi and Divâdi, and both are taken here. युज् 'to concentrate' is Divâdi, and युज् 'to join' is Rudhâdi; both are meant here. The verb रज् 'to color' has lost its nasal in this sūtra, irregularly.

Thus संपृच् + चिनुण् = संपर्क + इन् (VII. 2. 52) = सम्पर्किन् 1st. sing. सम्पर्क 'mixture'; similarly, अनुलोपी 'compliant'; आयामी 'one who restrains'; आयासी 'one who exerts'; परिसारी 'that which flows round'; संसर्ग 'united'; परिदेवी 'lamenting'; संज्ञारी 'greatly heating'; परिक्षेपी 'moving about'; परिराटी 'crying aloud'; परिवादी 'reviling'; परिवाही 'burning'; परिमोही 'beguiling'; दोषी 'guilty'; द्वेषी 'hating'; द्रोही 'quarrelling'; दोही 'milking'; योगी 'uniting or concentrating'; आक्रीडी 'playing'; विवेकी 'discriminating'; त्यागी 'renouncing'; रागी 'yearning after'; भागी 'sharing'; अतिचारी 'transgressing'; अपचारी 'offending'; आमोषी 'a thief'; अभ्याचारी 'attacking'. (VII. 3. 52 and 54).

The indicatory च of the affix shows that the final palatal is changed into a corresponding guttural before this affix.

वै कषलसकथस्त्रम्भः ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ वै, कष-लस-कथ-
स्त्रम्भः (चिनुण्, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कष लस कथ स्त्रम्भ एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो विगृह्यत्परं चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

143. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs कष 'to injure', लस् 'to embrace and sport', कथ 'to praise' and स्त्रम्भ 'to believe', when these are in composition with the preposition वि ।

As विकारी 'injuring'; विनासी 'sportive, a sensualist'; विकृत्यी 'vaunting'; and विश्रम्भी 'confiding'.

अपे च लषः ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपे, च, लषः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लष कान्तौ, अस्माद्वातोरपत्तपदे चकारादौ च चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

144. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verb लष 'to wish' when compounded with the preposition अप and चि.

As अपलारी 'thirsty'; विनासी. The term चि is to be read into this sūtra by the force of the word 'and'.

प्रे लपसद्गुमयवदवसः ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, लप-सु-द्गु-मय-वद-वसः, (चिनुण्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्र उत्पदे लपादिभ्यो चिनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

145. The affix चिनुण् comes after the verbs लप्, छ, द्रु, मय, वद् and वस् when compounded with the preposition वि.

As प्रलारी 'prattling'; प्रसारी 'extending around'; प्रदारी 'running away, fugitive'; प्रमारी 'tormenting'; प्रवारी 'reporting'; प्रवासी 'a traveller'.

The root वस् here is the Bhvādi वस् meaning 'to dwell' and is not Adādi meaning 'to cover', because in the latter the vikaraṇa is elided.

निन्दहिंसक्लिशखादविनाशपरिक्षिपपरिरटपरिवादिद्व्याभाषासूयो
वुञ् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ निन्द-हिंस-क्लिश-खाद-विनाश-परिक्षिप-परिरट-परि-
वादि-द्व्याभाष-असूयः, वुञ्. (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निन्दादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्देषु वुञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

146. The affix वुञ् is added to the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—
निन्द्, हिन्स्, क्लिग्, खाद्, विनाग्, परिक्षिप्, परिरट्, परिवादि, व्याभाष् and असूय ।

In this sūtra the whole phrase ending with असूय has taken the termination of the first case; which, however, has the force of the ablative here.

As निन्द् + वुञ् = निन्दकः (VII. 1. 1) 'blaming'; so also हिंसकः 'injuring'; क्लेशकः 'tormenting or troublesome'; खादकः 'eating'; विनाशकः 'destroying'; परिक्षिपकः 'surrounding'; परिराटकः 'who cries aloud'; परिवाकः 'a plaintiff'; व्याभाषकः 'detracting'; and असूयकः 'detracting'.

The same forms as the above would have been obtained by adding the affix ण्वल् taught in III. 1. 133, as by adding वुञ्; its separate enunciation indicates the existence of this paribhāṣa:—

"The rule of III. 1. 94 by which an *apavāda*-affix which is not uniform with an *utsarga*-affix should supersede the latter only optionally, has no concern with *apavāda*-affixes added 'in the sense of 'having such a habit' i. e. with the affixes taught in III. 2. 134—177". Therefore the affixes वुञ् &c, are not added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'.

देविक्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ देवि-क्रुशोः, च, उपसर्गे,
(युञ्ज्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ देवयतेः क्रुशोश्चोपसर्गे उपपदे युञ्ज्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

147. The affix युञ्ज् comes after the verbs देवि 'to lament' and क्रुश् 'to cry', when an upasarga is in composition with them.

As आदेवकः 'one who sports or laments'; आक्रोशकः 'vociferous, a reviler'; परिदेवकः 'one who laments'; परिक्रोशकः 'a reviler'.

Why do we say 'when in composition with an upasarga'? Observe देवयिता and क्रोशा formed by हन् (III. 2. 135).

चलनशब्दार्थादकर्मकाद् युच् ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ चलन-शब्दार्थात्,
अकर्मकाद्, युच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चलनार्थेभ्यः शब्दार्थेभ्यश्चाकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix युच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'. after intransitive verbs denoting 'motion' or 'sound'.

As, चल् + युच् = चलनः 'moving' (VII. 1. 1); चोपनः 'creeping'; शब्दनः 'sounding'; रवणः 'roaring'.

Why do we say 'intransitive'? Observe पठिता विद्याम्.

अनुदात्तेतश्च हलादेः ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनुदात्तेतः, च, हला-
देः, (युच्, अकर्मकात्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुदात्तेभ्यो धातुः हलादिरकर्मकस्ततश्च युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

149. The affix युच् comes in the same sense after such intransitive verbs as are Atmanepadi and begin with a consonant and are Anudâtet i. e. have a gravely accented vowel as indicatory.

As वर्त्तनः 'being'; वर्द्धनः 'growing'.

Why do we say 'Anudâtet'? Observe भविता.

Why do we say 'beginning with a consonant'? Observe एधिता, which though Atmanepadi, takes हन्.

Why have we used the term आदि 'beginning' in the sūtra? Observe जुगुप्सनः 'censuring'; मीमांसनः 'an investigator. For without the word आदि, the rule would have stood thus:—अनुदात्तेतश्च हलः which by I. 1. 72. would mean 'the affix युच् comes after the verbs which end with a consonant'; so that even after एच् we shall have युच्; and there would be no युच् after जुगुप्स् which ends with a vowel.

This rule will not apply if the root is transitive; as वसिता वस्नम् ।

युचङ्कस्यदन्द्रस्यस्रगृधिज्वलशुचलषपतपदः ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥

यु-चङ्कस्य-दन्द्रस्य-स्र-गृधि-ज्वल-शुच-लष-पत-पदः, (युच्, तच्छीलादिषु)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जु प्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

150. The affix युच् comes after the following verbs in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', viz :—जु, चङ्कस्य, दन्द्रस्य, स्र, गृध, ज्वल, शुच, लष, पत and पद्.

The verb जु is not to be found in the Dhātupāṭha, and is taught in the aphorisms and is hence called a *sautra dhātu*. It means 'to go', 'to be quick'. As जु + युच् = जो + अन (VII. 1. 1. and VII. 3. 84) = जवनः (VI. 1. 78, II. 3. 46) 'a courser, a swift horse'. चङ्कस्य + युच् = चङ्कम् + अन् (II. 4. 74) = चङ्कमनः 'moving about'; so also दन्द्रमणः 'wandering'; सरणः 'flowing'; गर्हन्तः 'greedy'; बर्हन्तः 'burning'; शोचन्तः 'grieving'; लषणः 'desiring'; पतन्तः 'falling'; पद्न्तः 'moving'.

The enumeration of the word पद् in the above, indicates that this sūtra applies to the transitive verbs; otherwise the sūtra III. 2. 148 would have been sufficient, as पद् is a चञ्जनार्थ verb. Others say that the inclusion of पद् in this aphorism indicates the existence of the *paribhāṣā* already given under sūtra III. 2. 146 i. e. the rule of III. 1. 94 has no concern with affixes added in the sense of 'having such a habit &c'. The affix ह्यण्यच् which by III. 2. 136 is added to भलङ्कम्, supersedes therefore not merely the addition of हन् to भलङ्कम् (III. 2. 135), but also the addition of षन् to the same. If a *tāchchhika apavāda* were to supersede only an *atāchchhika utsarga*, it would have been superfluous for Pāṇini to teach in this sūtra the addition of युच् to पद्, because in that case the addition of उक्कम् to पद् by III. 2. 154 would not have debarred the addition of युच् to पद् by III. 2. 149. The repetition is for the sake of *jñāpāna*, therefore, and it indicates the existence of the above-mentioned maxim. The *jñāpāna* is not, however, of universal application; for sometimes both affixes are applied concurrently; as, गन्ता खेटं विकथनः।

क्रुधमण्डार्थभ्यश्च ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्रुध-मण्ड-अर्थभ्यः, च, (युच्)।

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रुध क्रोधे, मण्ड भूषायाम्, इत्येतत्संभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

151. And after the verbs having the sense of क्रुध 'to be angry' and मण्ड 'to adorn', the affix युच् is employed.

As क्रोधनः 'wrathful'; रोषणः 'irascible'; मण्डनः 'adorning'; भूषणः 'ornament'. But not so after the verb भलङ्क to which sūtra III. 2. 136 applies.

न यः ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यः, (युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यकारान्ताद्वातोर्ध्व्युच् प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

152. The affix युच् is not employed after those verbs which end in the letter यः.

This debar III. 2. 149. As वनूयिता 'making creaking sound'; क्षमयिता 'trembling'. In these cases the affix हन् is employed (III. 2. 135).

सूददीपदीक्षञ्च ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सूद-दीप-दीक्षः, च, (युच्, न)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सूददीपदीक्ष इत्येतेभ्यश्च युच्प्रत्ययो न भवति ॥

153. The affix युच् does not come after the verbs सूद् 'to strike', दीप् 'to shine' and दीक्ष 'to initiate'.

These three verbs are *anuddattat*, and by sūtra III. 2. 149, would have taken युच्. The present sūtra prohibits that. Therefore they take हन्. As, सूदिह 1st. sing. सूदिता 'one who strikes'; दीपिह 'one who shines'; दीक्षित् 'one who initiates'.

Now, it might be objected—"We find that sūtra III. 2. 167 specifically enjoins the affix र after हो; this *apavāda* rule will therefore, supersede the general rule; where is then the necessity of the present rule? If you say that the affix युच् is also obtained by the rule of non-uniformity (III. 1. 94), we reply that the *Paribhāṣā* given under sūtra 146 and 150 will prevent that." This objection is answered by saying that the above-mentioned *Paribhāṣā* is not of universal application; there are exceptions to it, as कम्पा युवतिः and कम्पना युवतिः 'a young girl' which are both valid forms derived by adding र and युच् to the verb कम्. So also कम्पा and कम्पना शाखा 'a shaking branch'.

If we prohibit युच् after the root सूद्, how do we get the forms मधुसूदन and रिपुसूदन? This objection may be answered in three ways: (1) the present is an *anitya* rule, not of universal application, which can be inferred from finding this sūtra separated from the last (*yogavibhāga*), when it was easier to make them one, (2) the words मधुसूदन &c belong to the नन्दादि class (III. 1. 134) taking the affix ल्यु or (3) they are formed by III. 3. 113 by the affix ल्युच्.

लषपतपदस्थाभूवृषहनकमगमशृभ्य उक्तञ् ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लष-पत-पद-स्था-भू-वृष-हन-कम-गम-शृभ्यः, उक्तञ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उक्तञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix उक्तञ् comes after the following verbs, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c':—लष, पत्, पद्, स्था, भू, वृष, हन्, कम्, गम् and शृ।

As अपञ्जाषुकं वृषजसंगतं, प्रपातुका गर्भा भवन्ति, उपपातुकसत्त्वं, उपस्थायुका एनं पशवो भवन्ति, प्रभावुकमन्नं भवति, प्रवर्षकाः पर्जन्याः, आघामुक् कापालिकस्य शूलम्, कामुक एनं स्त्रियो भवन्ति, आगामुक् वाराणसीं रत्न आहूः, किंशारुकं लोहयुताहूः। The य is added after स्था in उपस्थायुक by VII. 3. 33. The हन् is changed into घात् by VII. 3. 32 and 54.

जल्पभिन्नकुहलुण्टवृडः पाकन् ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जल्प-भिन्न-कुह-लुण्ट-वृडः, पाकन्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जल्पादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु पाकन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix पाकन् comes, in the sense of the 'agent having such a habit &c', after the following verbs:—जल्प, भिन्न, कुह, लुण्ट and वृ।

The ष is indicative showing that the feminine of the words so formed take the affix ङीष् i. e. long ई (IV. 1. 41). As जल्पाकः 'talkative'; भिक्षाकः 'a beggar'; कुशाकः 'who or what cuts'; लुण्ठाकः 'a thief or robber'; बराकः 'low, miserable'. In the feminine जल्पाकी &c..

प्रजोरिनिः ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजोः, इनिः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वाज्जवतस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix इनि comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit etc'. after the verb प्रज् 'to hasten forward'.

As प्रजयिन् 1st. sing. प्रजयी 'an express, courier', 1st. dual प्रजयिनौ &c.

जिदृक्षिर्विश्रीयवमाव्यथाभ्यसपरिभूप्रसूभ्यश्च ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥

जि-दृ-क्षि-विश्रि-य-व-मा-व्य-था-भ्य-स-परि-भू-प्र-सू-भ्यः, च, (इनिः, तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जिप्रभृतिभ्यो धातुभ्य इनिःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

157. The affix इनि comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs जि 'to conquer', दृ 'to respect', क्षि 'to waste, to dwell, to go', विश्रि 'to shelter', य 'to go', वम् 'to vomit', अव्यय 'not to give pain', अभ्यस 'to injure', परिभू 'to humiliate' and प्रसू 'to beget'.

As जिजयिन् 1st. sing. जयी 'conquering'; दृद्री 'respecting'; क्षयि 'wasting'; विश्रयी 'wasting'; अत्ययी 'exceeding'; वमी 'vomiting'; अव्ययी 'free from pain'; अभ्ययी 'not injuring'; परिभयी 'humiliating' and प्रसयी 'procreating'.

स्पृहियृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धाभ्य आलुच् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥

स्पृह-यृहि-पति-दयि-निद्रा-तन्द्रा-श्रद्धाभ्यः, आलुच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्पृहियृहिपतिदयिनिद्रातन्द्राश्रद्धा एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु आलुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ आलुचि शीङो महणं कर्तव्यम् ॥

158. The affix आलुच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the following words:— स्पृह 'to desire', गृह 'to seize', पत 'to go', दय 'to give, to go, to protect', निद्रा 'to sleep', तन्द्रा 'to be tired' and श्रद्धा 'to venerate'.

The word निद्रा is formed by adding the preposition नि to the verb द्रा 'to go crookedly'; so also तन्द्रा is formed by adding तद् to द्रा, and then irregularly changing the द् into न्. The term श्रद्धा is formed by adding श्र् to the verb धृष् 'to hold'. The first three verbs belong to Churāḍī class and take लिच्.

As, स्पृह्यालुः 'disposed to be desirous of'; गृह्यालुः 'disposed to catch hold of or seize'; पत्यालुः 'tehdng or prone to fall'; दयालुः 'compassionate'; निद्रालुः 'disposed to sleep'; तन्द्रालुः 'slothful'; श्रद्धालुः 'full of faith'. See VI. 4. 55 for adding अच्

Vart :—The affix आलुच् comes also after the root शीङ् 'to lie down'; as शयानुः 'disposed to lie down'.

दाधेदसिशदसदो रुः ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दा-धेद्-सि-शद-सदः, रुः॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दा धेद् सि शद सर इत्येतेभ्यो रुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix रु comes after the verbs दा 'to give', धेद् 'to suck', सि 'to bind', शद 'to fall' and सर 'to sit'.

As, दारुः 'a munificent man'; धारुर्वत्सो मातरम् 'a sucking child of the mother'. The genitive case is here prohibited by II. 3. 69, the रु being taken as equivalent to उ. As संरुः 'binding'; शरुः 'falling'; and सरुः 'resting'.

सुघस्यदः क्मरच् ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ सु-घसि-अदः, क्मरच्, (तच्ङ्की०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सु घसि अद इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः तच्ङ्कीनादिषु कर्तृषु क्मरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. The affix क्मरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', comes after the verbs सु 'to flow', घसि 'to eat' and अद 'to eat'.

As सुमरः 'going, a kind of deer'; घस्मरः 'gluttonous'; अदमरः 'voracious'.

भञ्जभासमिदो घुरच् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ भञ्ज-भास-मिदः, घुरच्, (तच्ङ्कीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भञ्ज भास मिद इत्येतेभ्यो घुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्ङ्कीनादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

161. The affix घुरच् comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.', after the verbs भञ्ज 'to break', भास् 'to shine', and मिद 'to be fat'.

As भञ्ज+घुरच्=भञ्ज+उर (VII. 3. 52)=भङ्गुरः 'brittle'; the palatal being changed into guttural, because of the indicatory घ. So also मेघुरः पशुः 'a fat beast'; भासुरं ज्योतिः 'splendid light'.

After the verb भञ्ज this affix gives a reflexive signification—that which naturally breaks of itself.

विदिभिदिछिदेः कुरच् ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदि-भिदि-छिदेः, कुरच्, (तच्ङ्कीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदिभिद्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्ङ्कीनादिषु कर्तृषु कुरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्यधेः सम्प्रसारणं कुरच्प्रत्ययः ॥

162. The affix कुरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs विद् 'to know', भिद् 'to divide' and छिद् 'to pierce'.

As विदुरः पण्डितः 'a knowing Pandit'; भिदुर काष्ठम् 'a splitting or fragile wood'; छिदुरा रज्जुः 'a cutting or breaking rope'. The affix is employed in a reflexive sense after the verbs भिद् and छिद्.

Vart :—The affix कृत् comes after the verb व्यध 'to kill'; and there is vocalisation of the semivowel; as विधुरः ।

इत्नन्गजिसर्त्तिभ्यः करप् ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ इत्-नन्-जि-सर्त्तिभ्यः, करप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इण् नन् जि सर्त्ति इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु कस्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

163. The affix करप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs इ 'to go', नन् 'to destroy', जि 'to conquer', and ह 'to flow'.

The प् is indicatory in order to introduce the augment तुक् between the verb and the affix (VI. 1. 71). Thus इ + करप् = इ + तु + वर = इत्वरः, fem. इत्वरी 'a traveller'; नन्वरः, fem. नन्वरी 'transitory'; जित्वरः, fem. जित्वरी 'victorious'; हत्वरः, fem. हत्वरी 'going, a river'.

Though the affix begins with a letter of वज् *pratyāhāra*, and ought to have taken the intermediate इद् (VII. 2. 35) yet it is prohibited by VII. 2. 8.

गत्वरश्च ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्वरः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्वर इति निपात्यते, गमेरनुनासिकलोपः करप्प्रत्ययश्च ॥

164. And the word गत्वर is irregularly formed.

The word गत्वर is formed by eliding the म् of गम् and adding the affix करप्. As गत्वरः, fem. गत्वरी 'locomotive, transient'.

जागुरूकः ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ जागुः, ऊकः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जागुरूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

165. The affix ऊक comes after the verb जागृ 'to be awake' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit'.

As जागुरूकः 'wakeful'.

यजजपदशां यङः ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-जप-दशाम्, यङः (तच्छीलादिषु, ऊकः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजारीनां यङन्तानामूकःप्रत्ययो भवति तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

166. The affix ऊक comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c', after the verbs यज्, जप् and दग् when they end in the affix यङ्.

The intensives of these verbs take ऊक. As यायजूकः 'a performer of frequent sacrifices'; जंजपूकः 'a mutterer of prayers repeatedly'; दग्शूकः 'a snake (what bites frequently)'.

ममिकम्पिस्सयजसकमहिंसदीपो रः ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ममि-कम्पि-स्मि-अजस-कम-हिंस-दीपः, रः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नम्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु रःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix र comes in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' after the verbs नम 'to bow', कम्प 'to shake', स्मि 'to smile', अजस् 'not to cease', कम 'to desire', हिन्स 'to injure', and दीप 'to shine'.

Thus, नम्रं काष्ठं 'soft wood'; कम्पा शाखा 'shaking branch'; स्मेरं मुखं 'smiling face'; अजस्रं जुहोति 'he sacrifices perpetually'; कन्या युवती 'a beautiful maiden'; हिंस रक्षः 'the injuring Rākshas'; दीप्यं काष्ठं 'brilliant wood'.

The word अजस्र is an adverb, and is derived from the root जस् 'to set free', with the negative particle अ, and the affix र; as अ + जस् + र = अजस्रं ।

सनाशंसभिन्न उः ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सन-आशंस-भिन्नः, उः, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सन्नन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आशंसतेर्भिन्नश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix उ comes after roots that have taken the affix सन्, and after the verbs आशंस 'to wish' and भिन्न 'to beg' in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term सन् in the aphorism means Desideratives in the affix सन्, and not the verb, सन् because the verb सन् is never seen with this affix.

As, चिकीर्षुः 'desirous of doing'; जिहीषुः 'desirous of taking'; आशंसुः 'desirous'; भिन्नुः 'a beggar'.

The verb आशंस with the upasarga आ is the verb शसि 'to desire' and not the verb शंसि 'to praise'.

विन्दुरिच्छुः ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ विन्दुः, इच्छुः, (तच्छी० ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विदेर्नुमागम इषेर्इक्ष्वमुकारश्च प्रत्ययो निपात्यते तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु ॥

169. The words विन्दु and इच्छु are irregularly formed by the addition of the affix उ, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

To the verb विदि we add the augment नुम् and then the affix उ; as, विद् + नुम् + उ = विन्दुः (I. I. 47) = वेदन्शीलः 'intelligent'; so of इष् 'to wish', the ष is replaced by छ, and we have इच्छुः = इषणशीलः 'desirous'.

क्याच्छन्दसि ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ क्यात्, छन्दसि, (तच्छील०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्यप्रत्ययान्ताद्धातोश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु उकारप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix उ comes in the Chhandas, after the roots that have taken the Denominative affix क्य in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

The term क्य includes the three affixes क्यच्, क्यङ् and क्यष् (see sūtras III. I. 8, II, 13, &c.) As निन्दुः, संस्वेदुः, सुम्रुः (Rig. Ved. I. 3. 4).

In the modern Sanskrit कृन् will be employed. As नित्रीयिता. By sūtra VII. 4. 33, the long ई replaces the final अ, when वयच् follows; as पुत्र + वयच् = पुत्री + य = पुत्रीय. Why then in the case of मित्रयुः there is not the substitution of long ई for the अ of मित्र? Because the rule VII. 4. 33 is set aside by VII. 4. 35 which declares that in the Chhandas the long ई is not substituted for the अ।

आट्टगमहनजनः किकिनी लिट् च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्ट-ग-
गम-हन-जनः, कि-किनी, लिट्, च, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य ऋवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च गम हन जन इत्येतेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु किकिनी प्रत्ययौ भवतः, लिट् च तौ भवतः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ किकिनायुत्सर्गश्छन्दसि सदादिभ्यो वर्णानात् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां धातुकुञ्जजनगमिनमिभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सङ्ग्रहितलिपतिभ्यो यङन्तेभ्यः किकिनी वक्तव्यौ ॥

171. In the Chhandas, the affixes कि and किन् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' come after the verbs that end in long आ, or short or long ऋ, and after the verbs गम् 'to go', हन् 'to kill', and जन् 'to be produced', and these affixes operate like लिट् causing reduplication of the root.

The व् after आ is either for the sake of euphony, or for the sake of precision. Had it been त्, then by the rule of तपर (I. 1. 70) short ऋ would only be included and not long ऋ. But the present rule is applicable to long ऋ as well.

Thus पा + कि = पयिः 'drinking'; as पयिः सोमं 'drinking the soma-juice'; दृग्भिः 'giving cows' (Rig. Ved. VI. 23. 4). मित्रावरुणौ तत्तुरिः (Rig. Ved. IV. 39. 2, VI. 68. 7). दूरे अध्याजगुरिः (Rig. Ved. X. 108. 1). गम् + किन् = जग्मिः 'being in constant motion, wind'; जग्मिषुवा (Rig. Ved. II. 23. 11); हन् + किन् = जहन्निः 'killing, a weapon offensive'; जहन्निवृजम् (Rig. Ved. IX. 61. 2); जन् + किन् = जजिः as जजिबीजम् (T. S. VII. 5. 20-2).

The letter क् in these affixes is indicative. It might be said 'it is superfluous to make these affixes कित्, because these being treated like लिट् will be कित् by rule I. 2. 5'. True, they would be कित् by the rule I. 2. 5, but then the rule VII. 4. 11. (when लिट् follows, guna is the substitute of the verb ऋच् and of those that end in the long ऋ) would also have applied to these affixes, and would have caused गुना. It is to prevent this गुना of the letter ऋ that we have annexed an indicative क् to these affixes.

Vart.—The affixes कि and किन् are of universal application in the Chhandas, and not confined to the verbs enumerated in the sūtra, as we see them in सव् &c.; as सेविः (Yaj. Ved. XII. 105); नेमिः (Rig. Ved. II. 5. 3).

Vart.—The affixes कि and किन् come after the roots धाम्, कृम्, ह्, जनि,

गमि, and नमि in the secular literature also; as, वभिः, चक्रिः, ससिः, जज्जिः, जग्मिः, नेमिः ।

Vart:—The affixes कि and किन् come after the Intensive (यङन्त) roots. of सह्, वह्, चल्, and यत्. As, सासहिः, वावहिः, चाचजिः, यायतिः (VII 4. 83).

स्वपितृषीर्नजिङ् ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपि-तृषीः, नजिङ्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेस्त्वपेश्च तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु नजिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ धृषेन्नेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

172. The affix नजिङ् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c', after the verbs स्वप् 'to sleep' and तृष् 'to be thirsty'.

As स्वप् + नजिङ् = स्वप्नन् 1st. sing. स्वप्नक् 'sleeping, drowsy'; तृष्णज् 1st. sing. तृष्णक् 'covetous, thirsty'.

Vart:—So also after the verb धृष् 'to insult, be bold'; as, धृष्णज् 1st. sing. धृष्णक् 'bold, impudent'.

शृवन्द्योः ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ शृ-वन्द्योः, आरुः, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शृ हिंसायाम् वन्दि अभिवादनस्तुत्योः एताभ्यां तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृष्वारुःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

173. The affix आरु comes in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs शृ 'to injure' and वन्द 'to praise', 'to salute'.

As शरारुः 'noxious, a mischievous animal'; वन्दारुः 'praising, a bard'.

भियः क्लुकनौ ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भियः, क्लु-क्लुकनौ, (तच्छी०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भिर्ना भये अस्माद्धातोस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्लुकनौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्लुकनपि वक्तव्यः ॥

174. The affixes क्लु and क्लुकन come in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit' after the verb भि 'to fear'.

As, भीरुः 'fearful, timid'; भीलुकः 'timorous, a bear, a tiger, a jackal'.

Vart:—The affix क्लुकन् should also be stated; as भीलुकः ।

स्थेशभासपिसकसो वरच् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्था-ईश-भास-पिस-कसः, वरच्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्था ईश भास पिस कस एतेभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix वरच् comes, in the sense of 'the agents having such a habit &c' after the verbs स्था 'to stand' ईश 'to rule', भास् 'to shine', पिस् 'to go' and कस् 'to go'.

As स्थावरः 'immoveable'; ईश्वरः 'ruler, God'; वेश्वरः 'going, destructive'; विकसुरः 'opening, expanding'.

यच्च यङः ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ यः, च, यङः, (तच्छीलादिषु, वरच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ या प्रापये भस्माद्यङन्तात्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु वरच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

176. The affix वरच् in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c' comes after the verb या when it ends with the affix यङ्.

With the affix यङ्, the intensives of verbs are formed; as यायावरः 'a vagrant, an ascetic'. See sūtra I. 1. 58.

भाजभासधुर्विद्युतोर्जिपृजुग्रावस्तुवः क्तिप् ॥ १७७ ॥ पदानि ॥

भाज-भास-धुर्वि-द्युत्-उर्जि-पृ-जु-ग्रावस्तुवः, क्तिप्, (तच्छीलादिषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु कर्तृषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

177. The affix क्तिप् comes, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c.' after the verbs भाज् 'to shine' भास 'to shine', धुर्व् 'to injure', द्युत् 'to shine', ऊर्ज् 'to be strong', पृ 'to fill', जु 'to move rapidly' and स्तु 'to praise', when it is preceded by the word ग्रावन् 'a stone'.

Thus, विभाज् 1st. sing. विभाट् 'splendid'; भास् 1st. sing. भाः 'light'; धुर्व् + क्तिप् = धुर् (VI. 4. 21), 1st. sing. धूः 'who injures'; विद्युत् 'lightening'; ऊर्ज् 1st. sing. ऊर्क 'strength'; पृ 1st. sing. पृः 'what fills'; जुः 'swift'. In the case of जु, a long vowel is the substitute of जु; ग्रावस्तुत् (VI I. 71) 'a stone-worshipper'. Though by the universal rule III. 2. 76, the affix क्तिप् would have come after these verbs also, the repetition of the affix shows that वाऽस्वरूपविधि does not apply in *tāchchhīlīka* affixes.

अन्येभ्योपि दृश्यते ॥ १७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते, (तच्छीलादिषु, क्तिप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योपि धातुभ्यस्तच्छीलादिषु क्तिप्प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिवचिप्रच्छायायतस्तु कटपृजुश्रीणां शीघ्राऽसम्प्रसारणं च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ द्युतिगमिजुहोतीनां द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जुहोतेदोर्ध्वं च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वृभय इत्यस्य ह्रस्वश्च द्वे च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ध्यायतः संप्रसारणं च ॥

178. The affix क्तिप् is seen after other verbs also, besides those mentioned above, in the sense of 'the agent having such a habit &c'.

As युज्, 1st. sing. युक् 'joining'; छिन् 'piercing'; भिन् 'dividing'.

By using the words 'is seen' in the aphorism, it is implied that other rules also apply concurrently with क्तिप्. Thus in some cases we find lengthening of the vowel; in some, there is reduplication of the root; in some instances there is *samprasāraṇa* of the semivowel; and in other cases there is not.

Vart:—When *किप्* follows, the long vowel is the substitute of *वच्* 'to speak', *प्रच्छ्* 'to ask', *आयतस्तु* 'to praise long', *कटम्* 'to move through a mat', *जु* 'to move rapidly', and *श्री* 'to serve', and there is no substitution of a vowel for the semivowel (VI. I. 16).

As, *वाक्* 'the voice'; *प्रच्छ् + किप् = प्रश् + किप्* (VI. I. 10) = *प्रश् + किप्* (VIII. 2. 36) = *प्राद्* (VIII. 4. 56) 'who asks'; *आयतस्तु*: 'who praises long'; *कटम्*: 'a worm'; *जु*: 'swift'; *श्री*: 'the goddess Lakshmi'.

The word *जु* which was mentioned in the last *sūtra* is redundant here.

Vart:—There is reduplication of the verbs *द्युन्* 'to shine', *गम्* 'to go' and *हृ* 'to invoke', when *किप्* follows. As, *विद्युन्* 'shining'; *जगत्* 'going, the world'.

Vart:—There is lengthening also of the vowel of *जुहु*: as *जुहु*: 'a crescent-shaped wooden ladle used for pouring the sacrificial ghee into the fire'.

Vart:—The root *हृ* 'to tear' is shortened also; as *रहृत्* 'tearing'.

Vart:—The verb *ध्या* 'to think' has *samprasāraṇa*; as *धी*: 'thinking'.

भुवः संज्ञान्तरयोः ॥१७९॥ पदानि ॥ भुवः, संज्ञा-अन्तरयोः, (किप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेर्धातोः संज्ञायामन्तरे च गम्यमाने किप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

179. The affix *किप्* comes after the verb *भू* 'to be' when the word so formed denotes a name or a surety.

As, *विभू*: 'a person called Vibhū'; *प्रतिभू*: 'a surety i. e. he who stands intermediate between the debtor and the creditor'.

विप्रसंभ्यो ड्वसंज्ञायाम् ॥ १८० ॥ पदानि ॥ वि-प्र-संभ्यो, डुः असंज्ञायाम्, (भुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि प्र सम् इत्येवं पूर्वार्जवतेर्धातोः डुप्रत्ययो भवति न चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डुप्रकरणे मितड्वस्मिन् उपसंख्यानम् ॥

180. The affix *डु* comes after the verb *भू* when it is preceded by the upasargas *वि*, *प्र* and *सम्* provided that the word to be formed does not mean an appellative.

As *विभू*: 'all pervading'; *प्रभू*: 'lord'; *संभू*: 'Creator'.

Why do we say 'when it is not a proper name? Observe *विभू*: 'a person called Vibhū'.

Vart:—The words *मितड्व* &c, also are formed by this affix. As *मितड्व*: 'the sea'; *संभू*: 'causing happiness'.

Why have we applied *डु* and not *किप्* to this root, as the forms would have been the same in either case? We have done so for two purposes: (1) To prevent the rules relating to *dhitus* from applying to this. (2) To prevent the insertion of *तुक्* augment. Thus the 1st. dual of *मितड्व* is *मितड्व*, 1st. pl. is *मितड्वः*. Here there is no substitution of *उक्* which the rule VI. 4. 77 required, if *डु* had retained its *dhitu* characteristic; so also the rule of accent in VI. I. 175

does not apply to Instrumental sing. मितृवा &c, (2.) We have no सू which rule VI. 1. 71 required. मितं द्रवति=मितद्रुः ।

धः कर्मणि ष्टन् ॥ १८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ धः, कर्मणि, ष्टन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धयतेर्धधातोश्च कर्मणि कारके ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

181. The affix ष्टन् comes, in denoting the object, after the verb धा 'to feed'.

The indicatory ष denotes that the feminine is formed by ङीष् (ई) affix. As धात्री 'a nurse whom the children suck (*dhayanti*)'; and 'Amalaki fruit which holds (*dadhāti*) all medicinal properties'.

दाक्षींशसयुयुजस्तुतुदसिसिचमिहपतदशनहः करणे ॥ १८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाप्-नी-शस्-यु-युज-स्तु-तुद्-सि-सिच्-मिह्-पत्-दश्-नहः, करणे, (ष्टन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाप् नी शस् यु युज स्तु तुद् सि सिच् मिह पत दश नह एतभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

182. The affix ष्टन्, with the sense of instrument, comes after the verbs क्षप 'to cut', नी 'to lead', शस् 'to hurt', यु 'to join', युज् 'to join', स्तु 'to praise', तुद् 'to inflict pain', सि 'to bind', सिच् 'to sprinkle', मिह 'to urinate', पत् 'to fall', दश 'to bite' and नह 'to bind'.

As दाक्ष, 1st. sing. neuter दाक्षम् 'a sickle' (lit. that with which one cuts); नेत्र 1st. sing. नेत्रम् 'eye'; शस्त्रं (VII. 2. 9) 'a weapon'; योत्रं 'the tie that fastens the yoke'; श्लोक्त्रम् 'the tie of yoke'; स्तोत्रं 'a panegyric'; तोत्रं 'a goad', सेत्रं 'a ligament'; सेक्त्रं 'a sprinkling vessel'; मेड्डम् 'the penis'; पत्रम् 'a vehicle'; धंष्ट्रा 'a large tooth'.

The word दंष्ट्रा belongs to the *Ajāti* class and hence forms its feminine in दाप्(आ), and not in द्दी (IV. 1. 4).

The root दश is read in the aphorism without its nasal *i* c. as दश्. This indicates by implication that दश् loses its nasal before some affixes such as ल्युट्; thus we have दशनम् 'tooth'.

And lastly नह+ङ् = नहङ् fem. नहङ्गी (VIII. 2. 34 and 40), 'a thong'.

हलसूकरयोः पुवः ॥ १८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ हल-सूकरयोः, पुवः, (ष्टन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूञ् पूङ् पवने, अस्नाद्वातोः करणे कारके ष्टन्प्रत्ययो भवति तच्चेत् करणं हलसूकरयोरवयवौ भवति ॥

183. The affix ष्टन् is employed after the verb पू with the sense of instrument when denoting a member of the body of a plough or of a hog.

The verb पू includes both पूङ् and पूञ्; as पौञ्चम् 'a plough-share'; पौञ्चं 'the snout of a hog'.

अतिलूधूसूखनसहचर इत्रः ॥ १८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अति-लू-धू-सू-
खन-सह-चरः, इत्रः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अति लू धू सू खन सह चर एतेभ्यो धातुभ्यः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

184. The affix इत्र comes after the verbs लू 'to go', लू 'to cut', धू 'to shake', सू 'to bring forth', खन् 'to dig', सह 'to bear', and चर 'to go' with the sense of instrument.

Thus, अरित्रं 'a rudder'; लवित्रं 'a sickle'; धवित्रं 'a fan'; सवित्रं 'cause of production'; खनित्रं 'a spade'; सहित्रं 'patience'; चरित्रं 'an instituted observance or a narrative'.

पुवः संज्ञायाम् ॥ १८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुवः, संज्ञायाम्, (इत्रः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पक्वतेर्धातोः करणे कारके इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति समुशयेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

185. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' with the sense of the agent so expressed being the instrument; when the sense of the complete word is simply appellative, and not descriptive.

The verb पू includes two verbs पूङ् and पूञ् both meaning 'to purify', but belonging to two different conjugations; as पवित्रं an instrument for cleansing or purifying, such as a sieve or a strainer; and in this sense it means 'two blades of *Kusa* grass used at sacrifices in purifying and sprinkling ghee'. It also means 'the sacred thread, the clarified butter, &c.'

कर्तरि ऋषिदेवतयोः ॥ १८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, च, ऋषि-देवतयोः
(इत्रः, पुवः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुवः वरणे कर्तरि च इत्रप्रत्ययो भवति, ऋषिदेवतयोर्व्यासख्यं संबन्धः ॥

186. The affix इत्र comes after the verb पू 'to purify' in the sense of 'the agent or the instrument' when it is respectively employed in connection with a sage or a diety.

That is to say, when applied to a *Rishi* the force is that of an instrument, and when applied to a *Devatā* the force is that of an agent. As, पवित्रोऽयमुषिः 'this sage is sacred' (through whose instrumentality one is sanctified); अग्निः पवित्रं स मा पुनातु 'the God Agni is sacred' (one that purifies), 'let him purify me'. So also, वायुः सोमः सूर्य इन्द्रः पवित्रं ते मा पुनन्तु ।

शीतः कः ॥ १८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-इतः, कः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शीतो धातोर्षतमानेभ्यो कप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

187. The verbal roots, marked with an indicative शि, take the affix क, in denoting the present time.

The *Nishthā* affix क्त, as a general rule, is a past participial affix and denotes past time ; and is so ordained by rule III 2. 102. The present sūtra thus makes an exception in case of those verbs which are marked with an indicative झि in the *Dhātupāṭha*; as झिमिषा 'to be affectionately inclined'; मिञ्जः (मिङ् + क्त = मिङ् + त = मिन् + न (VIII. 2. 42) 'being affectionately inclined'. So झिद्विषा—द्विषणः 'sounding inarticulately'; झिधृषा—धृष्टः 'bold'. The anuvritti of वर्तमाने 'in the sense of the present', is read into this sūtra from III. 2. 123.

मतिबुद्धिपूजार्थेभ्यश्च ॥ १८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मति-बुद्धि-पूजा-अर्थेभ्यः,

च, (क्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मतिरिच्छा, बुद्धिर्ज्ञानम्, पूजा सत्कारः, एतदर्थेभ्यश्च धातुभ्यो वर्तमानार्थे क्तप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

188. And after roots denoting inclination, understanding, or respect, the affix क्त is employed with the force of the present.

The word मति means 'wish' or 'desire'; बुद्धि means 'knowledge'; and पूजा means 'worship', 'honor' or 'respect'. As राज्ञां मतः,—इष्टः,—बुद्धः,—ज्ञातः,—पूजितः, &c. 'the king wishes, desires, thinks, knows, honors, respects &c'.

The force of the word च is to include other kinds of verbs not included in the above sūtra. Thus the following participles have their senses confined not to the past time only: शीलितः 'practised'; रक्षितः 'protected'; क्षान्तः 'forbearing'; आक्रुष्टः 'censured'; जुष्टः 'pleased'; रुष्टः 'angry'; रुषितः 'angry'; अभिव्याहृतः 'uttered'; हृष्टः 'happy'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; कान्तः 'favourite'; संयतः 'restrained'; उद्यतः 'ready'; कष्टः 'evil, misery' (with a future signification); and अमृत 'immortal'. So also:—सुप्तः 'sleeping'; शयितः 'lying down'; आशितः 'eaten'; लिप्तः 'smeared'; तुष्टः 'satisfied'; all these have a present signification.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य तृतीयः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER III.

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उणादयो बहुलं ॥१॥ पदानि ॥ उण-आदयः, बहुलम्, (वर्तमाने) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः प्रत्यया वर्तमानेऽर्थे संज्ञायां विषये बहुलं भवन्ति ॥

1. The affixes 'Un' and the rest, with the force of the present, and with a sense simply appellative, are attached diversely.

The phrase 'with the force of the present' (implying neither past nor future time) and 'with a sense simply appellative' (and not descriptive) must be read into this sūtra by anuvṛtti from sūtras III. 2. 123 & 185. By using the word 'diversely' it is indicated that these affixes are, of course, applied after roots about which they are ordained, but they come also after roots about which they are not ordained. Sometimes we must infer their application by seeing actual words. Some affixes, though there be no express injunction regarding them, are to be inferred to belong to this class. The maxim in regard to the *Unādi* affixes is that when, in appellatives, we find the forms of verbal roots and affixes coming after them, then we may know, from the result as presented in the word, what are the indicatory letters which the affix must be possessed of in order to produce the result.

These affixes are not given in Pāṇini's work, but they have been separately collected. The affix उण् is the first of these. The first sūtra of *Unādi* affixes is the following—

कृवापाजिमिस्वदिसाध्यशब्द उण् ॥

The affix उण् comes after the verbs कृ 'to make', वा 'to blow', पा 'to drink', जि 'to overcome', मि 'to scatter', स्वद 'to be pleasant to the taste', साध्य 'to accomplish', and अशब् 'to pervade'.

Thus कृ+उण्=कारुः 'an artisan'. So also, वायुः 'the wind'; पायुः 'the organ of excretion'; जायुः 'a drug (which overcomes disease)'; मायुः 'the bile'; स्वादुः 'sweet'; साधुः 'who accomplishes the object of another, hence virtuous'; and आशुः 'quickly'.

These *Unādi* affixes come after a limited number of roots, and not after every root, as the affixes taught in this grammar whose application is general; hence the word बहुलं has been employed. Moreover there has been no exhaustive enumeration of the several roots after which these affixes come:

only some of them have been collected in works treating of *Unâdi* affixes. Thus though the affixes उलृच् is ordained after ह्रस्व, it comes also after शक as शंकुजा. In fact there is a long discussion and it was a moot point at the time of Pāṇini whether these words said to be formed by *Unâdi* affixes were really derivative, or primitive ones. Moreover all the operations of these affixes have not been shown, that is their effects are not without remainder (संशेष). They are valid and good if found in sacred Scriptures or secular literature. The authors of *Niruktas* and grammarians of the school of Śākāṭyāṇa, consider all nouns and substantives (नाम) as derivative words from simple roots (धातुज). Therefore where the derivation of a word is not apparent, one should infer the existence of proper base (प्रकृति) or affix (प्रत्यय) to form such a word.

The following slokas will be of some use to the student for ascertaining the *Unâdi* affixes :

बाहुलकं प्रकृतेस्तनुवृष्टेः प्रायसमुच्चयनादपि तेषाम् ।
कार्यसंगोषविभेधं तदुक्तं नैगमरूढिभवं हि सुसाधु ॥ १ ॥
नाम च धातुजमाह निरुक्ते व्याकरणे शकटस्य च लोकम् ।
यत्न पदार्थविशेषसमुत्थं प्रत्ययतः प्रकृतेश्च तद्वह्यम् ॥ २ ॥
संज्ञासु धातुरूपाणि प्रत्ययान्ध ततः परे ।
कार्याद्विद्यादनूबन्धमेतच्छास्त्रमुणादिषु ॥ ३ ॥

भूतेऽपि दृश्यन्ते ॥ २ ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, अपि, दृश्यन्ते, (उणादयः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूतेकाले उणादयः प्रत्यया दृश्यन्ते ॥

2. The 'Unâdi' affixes are seen also attached with the force of the past time.

By the last sūtra, it was taught that the *Unâdi* affixes come with the force of the present time. The present aphorism teaches that they come with the force of the past also, not as a general rule, but in special cases. The force of the words 'are seen' being that no general rule can be laid down about it, but on *finding* that certain words have a past significance, we conclude that the affix in that particular case has the force of the past time.

Thus वृत् + मनिन् = वर्त्मन् 'the way, road' (that which has been established as a rule); चर् + मनिन् = चर्मन् 'skin' (that which is lived in); so also भस्मन् 'ashes' (that which has been reduced to ashes).

भविष्यति गम्यादयः ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, गमि-आदयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले गम्यादयः शब्दाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ अनद्यतन उपसंख्यानम् ॥

3. The words 'gami', &c. are valid forms, having the sense of the future time.

The force of the future time is in the affix, and is so ordained, and not in the original word which takes the affix. Thus we see that the *Unâdi*

affixes, in a way, do come with the force of not only present, but past and future also, though in the latter two cases its scope is very limited. As गमी ग्रामम् 'intending to go to the village'; आगामी 'that which has to come' So also प्रस्थायी 'departing'; प्रतिरोधी 'an opponent, (who is going to obstruct). प्रतियोधी 'going to be awakened'. So also प्रतियोधी 'an adversary'; प्रतियोगी 'an enemy'; प्रतियार्थी; आयायी; आवी, &c.

Var:—The Future, for the purposes of this rule, must be *anadyatana* future i. e. the affix should come in the sense of what will happen but not in the course of the current day. In other words, the force must be of the first future लट्, and not of the second future लृट्. As अगमी ग्रामम् 'he intends to go to the village tomorrow'.

यावत्पुरानिपातयोर्लट् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यावत्-पुरा-निपातयोः, लट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावत्पुराशब्दयोर्निपातयोरुपपदयोर्भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

4. The affix 'Lat' comes after a root, with the force of futurity, when it has in construction with it the particles 'yâvat' and 'purâ'.

The present tense has the force of the future when the *adverbs* यावत् and तावत् are used. The phrase 'futurity &c' is to be read into this sūtra from the last. Thus आलोक्ये ते निपतति पुरा 'he will surely fall in the range of your sight'. यावदस्य दुरात्मनः समुन्मूलनाय शत्रुघ्नं प्रेषयामि. 'I shall send Satrugna to exterminate this wretch'.

These words पुरा and यावत् must be used as adverbs (nipātas), and not as relative pronouns. Therefore not here, यावद् वास्यति तावद् भोक्ष्यते 'as long as he will give, so long he will eat'; पुरा गच्छति 'he goes along the city'. Here यावत् is a relative pronoun; and पुरा is the Instrumental singular of पुर् 'city'.

विभाषा कदाकर्हिः ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कदा-कर्हिः, (भविष्यति, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कदाकर्हि इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्विभाषा भविष्यति काले धातोर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

5. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root with the force of the futurity, when it has in construction with it, the adverbs, 'kadâ' and 'karhi'.

As कदा भुङ्क्ते 'when will he eat', or कदा भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता ; so also कर्हि भुङ्क्ते or भोक्ष्यते or भोक्ता 'when will he eat'.

किंवृत्ते लिप्सायाम् ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिप्सायाम्, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तपदे लिप्सायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

'6. When the word 'kim' or its derivatives are in construction with the verb, the affix 'Lat' is employed optionally after a root, in denoting future time, provided that the sentence expresses a desire of gaining on the part of the speaker.

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra. By using the word वृत्त along with किं it is meant that the rule applies even when किम् takes the affixes इतर and इतम. The word लिप्सा means the desire of gaining or acquiring, a wish to have something or an intention of begging'.

As कं भवन्तो भोजयन्ति or भोजयितारः 'whom will you feed'? It implies a request on the part of the questioner to feed him also. So also कतरो भिक्षां दास्यति, दास्यति, दाता, or कतनो भिक्षां दास्यति &c, 'Which of the two or which of these all, will he give alms? Will he give something to me'?

When no desire of gain is implied, the future tense must be employed as कः पाटलिपुत्रं गमिष्यति 'who will go to Pāṭaliputra'.

लिप्स्यमानसिद्धौ च ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ, च,
(भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिप्स्यमान-सिद्धौ गम्यमानायां भविष्यति काले धातोर्विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. And when the success, that would accrue to another by fulfilling the desire of the speaker, is indicated in a sentence, the present tense may optionally be employed with the force of the futurity.

The word 'optionally' is also understood here. The word लिप्स्यमानसिद्धिः is equal to लिप्स्यमानात् सिद्धि, an Ablative-Tatpuruṣa Compound, signifying *siddhi* or success, that would be acquired by another by complying with the request of the speaker. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that whereas the last related to interrogative sentences having किम् in construction, the present relates to sentences in general. As वो भक्तं दास्यति, स स्वर्गं गच्छति 'he who gives food, goes to heaven'; यो भक्तं दास्यति or दाता, स स्वर्गं गमिष्यति or गन्ता.

Here the speaker encourages the giver to the act of charity by holding out the hope, that from rice which is the object desired (लिप्स्यमान) the success (सिद्धि), in the shape of *sparga*, will accrue to the giver.

In other words, 'the present is sometimes used for the future in conditional sentences, i. e. it is employed in connection with a sentence declaring the compensation or reward which follows from the granting of the wish'.

लोहार्थलक्षणे च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोह-अर्थ-लक्षणे, च, (भविष्य-
तिकाले, विभाषा, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् इत्यर्थः प्रेषादिर्लक्ष्यते येन स लोट् इत्यलक्षणो धात्वर्थः, तत्र वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भविष्यति काले विभाषा लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. The affix 'Lat' is optionally employed with the force of the futurity, after that root, which in a conditional sentence, is the condition precedent for the action indicated by another verb having the sense of the imperative mood.

The word लोट् इत्यर्थः means 'having the sense of the affix लोट् or imperative mood'. The force of *lot* is 'to command, direct, invite &c' as given in III. 3. 162 and 163. The sūtra, translated literally, will mean 'the present tense may optionally be employed when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign (लक्षण) is to the thing signified (लक्ष्य)'. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छति (आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता) अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'if the professor comes (i. e. will come) then read you prosody'. Here the coming of the professor is the *lakshana* of the direction as to reading.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिके, (भविष्यतिकाले, विभाषा, लट्, लोट् इत्यलक्षणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकं भविष्यतिकाले लोट् इत्यलक्षणायां वर्तमानाद्वातोर्भविष्यति काले लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराल्लट् ॥

9. The 'Lat' (present) or the 'Lin' (potential) is used under similar conditions in denoting futurity, when the future time is future by a 'muhūrta' (48 minutes).

All the conditions of the last sūtra apply here also, namely 'when the action denoted by the verb is related to another action denoted by another verb in the imperative, as a sign is to the thing indicated'. By force of the word च we read the anuvṛitti of *lat* also into this aphorism. The word ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्तिक is a secondary derivative from ऊर्ध्वमुहूर्त्त, meaning 'that which exists in time above a muhūrta'. This is an irregular compound; and the vṛiddhi takes place irregularly of the उ of मु and not of ऊ as the general rule required. The whole word thus formed qualifies the word 'future'. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तावपरि मुहूर्तस्य उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छन् (आगच्छति, आगमिष्यति or आगन्ता), अथ त्वं छन्दोऽधीष्व 'If the teacher comes after an hour (of 48 minutes), you had better read the Prosody'.

तुमुन्वुलौ क्रियायां क्रियार्थायाम् ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमुन्, वुल-
लौ, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्, (भविष्यति काले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे धातोर्भविष्यति काले तुमुन्वुलौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्रियार्थायां क्रियायामुपपदे वासरूपेण वृत्तादयो न भवन्ति ॥

10. The affixes 'tumun' and 'nvul' are placed after a verbal root, with the force of the future, when the

word in construction therewith is another verb, denoting an action performed for the sake of the (future) action.

As भोज्यम् व्रजति 'he goes to eat'; भोजको व्रजति 'he goes to eat'. Here the upapada or the verb in construction is व्रजति; it denotes an action performed for the sake of the future action (क्रियार्थी), namely, eating.

Why do we say 'denoting an action'? The upapada must be an action and not a substantive; as भिज्जिस्थे इति भस्य जटः 'matted hair is for the purpose that he should beg.' Here the affixes are not employed.

Why do we say 'performed for the sake of another action'? Observe धावतस्ते पतिस्यति वण्डः 'running, thy stick will fall'.

Now, it might be asked why ण्वुल् is taught a second time, when it was already taught generally by rule III. 1. 133; and that being a common rule, would have applied to this subject also? If you reply that the future affix लृट् would have prevented its application, in conditional sentences like the above, we say that the rule of 'non-uniform affixes applying simultaneously' given in III. 1. 94 will step in and will conduce the application of ण्वुल् in spite of लृट्.

Vart.—The repetition of the affix ण्वुल् (ordained to come after a verbal root, when the word in construction therewith is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action,) is for the sake of prohibiting the application of the affixes like क्त्वा &c. in denoting the above sense; that is to say, the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94) does not apply here and we cannot optionally employ any other affix, with this gerundial sense. Thus we cannot say कर्त्ता व्रजति 'he goes to do'; but we must say कर्त्तुम् instead.

These affixes form the gerund of the infinitive of purpose.

भाववचनाश्च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ भाव-वचनाः, च, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थार्थम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाववृत्तिं प्रकृत्य ये घञादयो विहितास्ते च भाववचना भविष्यतिकाले क्रियायामुपपदे क्रियार्थाश्च भवन्ति ॥

11. And the affixes that are ordained to come after a root with the force of denoting the mere action of the verb, such as घञ् &c. (III. 1. 13.) have also the force of the future, when the word in construction therewith, is another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

As पाकाय व्रजति 'he goes to cook'; भूतये व्रजति 'he goes for the sake of success'; पुष्टये व्रजति.

Now it might be asked, why make this rule at all, when those affixes have already been ordained? It has already been said that the वासकरूप rule

does not apply in regard to infinitive; and hence लुप्त्वं would have prevented the application of other affixes. So the making of the present sūtra.

Why the word वचन has been employed in the sūtra? The meaning is that the words should be expressive or वाचक. How do the affixes become वाचक? When affixes which are ordained after certain bases, are employed after those bases only, then they are said to be वाचक, not when they are employed after other bases, or are even after those bases, but not in the mode as directed. So that, in short, those nouns only which have been especially formed by the भाववाच्य affixes, घञ् &c, can be employed with the force of gerund, and not every noun. The भाववाच्य nouns correspond to the nouns of action or verbal nouns.

अण् कर्मणि च ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अण् कर्मणि, (भविष्यति, काले, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातोरण्प्रत्ययो भवति भविष्यतिकाले कर्मण्युपपदे क्रियायां च क्रियार्थायाम् ॥

12. The affix 'an' comes after a root with the force of the future, when the word in construction with it is in the accusative case, and when the action is performed for the sake of another action.

The word 'future' is understood here. The force of च is merely that of a connective particle. By rule III. 2. 1. the affix अण् comes after a root when the word in composition is in the accusative case. That is a general injunction; and the rule of वाचक रूप not applying, the affix ण्वञ् would have debarred it as already said; hence this repetition. This rule being an apavāda rule (an exception or a special rule with regard to those verbs which have the accusative case in composition) will thus, within its own jurisdiction, prevent the application of एवञ् of III. 3. 10; and by the rule of परस्व given in I. 4. 2, it will debar the affixes like क &c. Therefore this अण् comes after even those verbs also which were especially exempted from its operation by rules like III. 2. 3. Thus by rule III. 2. 3 the अण् of III. 2. 1 could not have come after simple verbs ending in long आ, such as दा 'to give' &c. But the present अण् with a gerundial force will come even after such verbs. As गोदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give cows', and not गोदः । So also कम्बजदायो व्रजति 'he goes to give blanket'; भवदायो व्रजति । दा+अण्=दायः (VII. 3. 33).

So also काण्डलावो व्रजति 'he goes to cut wood'. In this case अण् would have been applied even, by III. 2. 1.

लृट् शेषे च ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृट्, शेषे; च, (भविष्यति, क्रियायां, क्रियार्थायां, धातोः, लट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे शुद्धे भविष्यतिकाले चकारात् क्रियायां चोपपदे क्रियार्थायां धातोर्लृट् परवशो भवति ॥

13. The affix 'Lrit' is employed after a verb, in the remaining cases, 'where futurity pure and simple is indicated; and also where there is in construction with it another verb denoting an action performed for the sake of the future action.

This is what is well-known as the Second Future. As करिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will do'; हरिष्यामि इति ब्रजति 'he goes that I will take'. So also, करिष्यति 'he will do'; हरिष्यति 'he will take'. Thus the Second Future is used both in dependent sentences as well as to denote simple Future.

लृटः सद्वा ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लृटः, सद्, वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लृटः स्थाने सत्संज्ञौ शब्दशानचौ वा भवतः ॥

14. The affixes called 'Sat' i. e. 'satri' and 'sânach' are optionally the substitutes of 'Lrit'.

The सत् has been defined in III. 2. 127. This option is a regulated option; that is to say, the affixes शब्द and शानच् replace लृट् under the conditions in which they replace लृट्; thus by III. 2. 124, these affixes will replace लृट् when agreeing with what does not end with the first case-affix. In these cases सत् will invariably replace लृट्. In other cases it will optionally replace लृट्. In these cases they will form what is known as future participles. As करिष्यन्ते देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta about to do; करिष्यमाणं देवदत्तं पश्य 'behold Devadatta being about to be done'. हे करिष्यन् or हे करिष्यमाण. Besides simple futurity, सत् denotes intention or purpose, as अर्जयिष्यमाणो वसति 'he dwells intending to earn his livelihood'; करिष्यमाणः सशरं शरासनं 'intending to furnish his bows with arrows'.

When, however, it agrees with the nominative case, it is optionally employed. As करिष्यन्, करिष्यमाणः, करिष्यति or करिष्यते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta will do'.

The form करिष्यन् is thus evolved. As कृ + लृट् = कृ + स्य + लृट् (III. 1. 33) = कर + इट् + स्य + शब्द = करिष्यत् nom. sing. करिष्यन्. In other words the participial affixes अन् (अन्त) and शान, technically known as शब्द and शानच्, also come after a verb that has taken the personal ending स्य of the Future.

अनद्यतने लृट् ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनद्यतने, लृट्, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यदनद्यतनेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातिलुट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

शर्तिकम् ॥ परिदेवने भवतनी भविष्यदर्थे वक्तव्या ॥

15. The affix 'Lut' comes after a verbal root in the sense of what will happen, but not in the course of the current day.

This debars 'Lrit'. As भवः कर्तुं 'he will do tomorrow'. भोजो भोक्ता 'he will eat tomorrow'.

The word 'anadyatana' is a Bahuvrihi compound. Therefore in cases where there is not pure futurity beyond today, but a mixture of the two, लृट् will be employed and not लृङ्. As अद्य भो वा भविष्यति 'it will be today or tomorrow'. And where there is doubt, the second Future should be employed.

Vart.—The First Future (लृङ्) is employed with the force of the Second Future (लृट्) when sorrow is expressed. As इयं तु कदा गन्ता, यैव पादौ निदधति ! 'Oh when will she go, who places her feet in such a way (who is such a slow walker)' भवन्तु कदाऽभ्येता, य एवमनभियुक्तः 'when will he learn, who is so inattentive'!

पदरुजविशस्पृशो घञ् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पद-रुज-विश-स्पृशः,

घञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पदस्मिन् धातुभ्यो घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pad' (to pace), 'ruj' (to pain), 'viś' (to enter), and 'spris' (to touch).

The anuvṛitti of 'future' does not extend to this sūtra. The affixes hereinafter taught come in all the tenses.

As पद + घञ् = पदः 'foot'; रुज् + घञ् = रोगः 'disease'; so, वेश् + घञ् = वेष्टः 'entrance'.

Vart.—The verb स्पृश् takes घञ् when the sense is that of 'distress'; as स्पर्शः 'disease' or 'warmth'. The word स्पृशं meaning 'touch' is formed by adding the affix भञ्, under rule III. 1. 134; as स्पृशो देवदत्तः। There is difference in accent between these two words.

स स्थिरे ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ स, स्थिरे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तद्भातोः स्थिरे कर्त्तरि घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ व्याधिनस्त्यचक्षेति वक्तव्यम् ॥

17. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'sri' (to move) when the agent is permanently fixed.

The word स्थिर means an object remaining steady throughout any period of time. That which thus remaining permanent *moves* through any interval of time, will apply to the agent of the verb. Thus, स + घञ् = सारः 'an essence'; as चन्दनसारः 'the essence of sandal', खदिरसारः 'the essence of catechu'.

Why do we say 'permanently fixed'? Observe सार्त्ता 'moves', सारकः 'that which flows'.

Vart.—The word so formed also applies to disease, fish and strength. As अतिसारः 'dysentery'; विसारः 'a fish'; सारः 'strength'.

भावे ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावे वाच्ये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

18. The affix 'ghañ' comes after a root when mere action is denoted.

Thus, पच् + घञ् = पाकः 'cooking' (VII. 2. 116 and VII. 3. 52); त्यागः 'abandoning'; रागः 'colouring' (VI. 4. 27). An action expresses a general state; so that all roots denote 'action' when their meaning is to be expressed. And as the meaning of the root can be expressed by the root itself, therefore, the affixes घञ् &c. come after all verbal roots, when the sense of the root is denoted as having attained to the completed state. It is not necessary that the words so formed should be always of the masculine gender, singular number. They may take any other gender or number. As पक्तिः, पच्यन्म्, पाकौ, पाकाः । These affixes form, in short, verbal nouns, or abstract nouns being names of action.

अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम् ॥ १९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ-कर्तरि, च, कारके, संज्ञायाम्, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्तृवर्जिते कारके संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. And the affix 'ghan' comes after a root, when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name is deduced, but not as agent.

Thus प्रासः (*i. e.* प्रास्यन्ति तम्) 'a dart, lit. that which men throw'; प्रसेवः (*i. e.* प्रसीव्यन्ति तम्) 'a sack, lit. that which men stitch together'; आहारः (*i. e.* आहरन्ति असाद्रसम्) 'food, lit. that from which men take out the juice to nourish themselves'. As मधुराहारः, तक्षशिनाहारः ।

Why do we say 'not related as an agent'? Observe मेघः 'a sheep, lit. that which looks helplessly'. Here the word मेघ is related to the verb विषति as agent, and the affix is consequently not घञ्.

Why do we say 'when denoting an appellative'? Observe कर्तव्यः कटः 'the mat must be made'.

The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that घञ् may be applied irregularly in cases where appellative is not meant: as को भवता दायो दत्तः 'what gift was given by you'; को भवता लाभो लब्धः 'what gain was gained by you'.

The word कारक is used in the sūtra for this purpose. The word अकर्तरि is a compound word formed by the negative नञ्. The word means a non-agent. Now the word 'non-agent' has two-fold significance; either it means any other kāraka which is not an agent-kāraka; or it may mean any thing in general which is not an agent. That is to say, the former negative, called ~~पर्यवसान~~, points out, by implication, the objects which are different from the thing prohibited; and in fact, makes the rule applicable to those objects; while the second sort of negative called प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध is a simple prohibition of the particular matter specified, without mentioning what is different from it. Giving the former interpretation to the word अकर्तरि, the word कारक becomes redundant, because 'non-agent' would mean any kāraka other than an agent.

But the very fact, that कारक is used, indicates the existence of the following rule which is nowhere expressly taught by Pāṇini:—That नञ् is compounded even with the force of प्रसज्य प्रतिषेध'. (VI. I. 45). अशित्, *non-sit*'.

Both the phrases, 'when denoting mere condition (भाव)' and 'a kāraka 'which is not an agent' are understood in the succeeding aphorisms. See II. 2. 6 about नञ् Compound.

**परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यः ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ परिमाण-आख्या-
याम्, सर्वेभ्यः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिमाणाख्यायां सर्वेभ्यो घातुभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ दारुणारो कर्तरि णिज् च ॥

20. The affix 'ghan' comes after all roots when the word so formed is the name of a measure.

Thus, नि + चि + घञ् = निचै + भ (VII. 2. 115) = निचाय (VI. I. 78) 'a heap'; as एकस्तण्डुलनिचायः; द्वौ शूर्पान्णयोः। कृ 'to scatter' + घञ् = कारः। द्वौ कारो; त्रयः काराः।

By using the word 'all' in the sūtra, it is indicated that the affix अप् (III. 3. 57) is also superseded when this sense is to be indicated. Otherwise the affix अच् would only be prohibited by the *Paribhāṣa*:—"Apavādas that precede the rules which teach operations that have to be superseded by the *apavāda*-operations, supersede only those rules that stand nearest to them, not the subsequent rules". Thus अच् being taught in III. 3. 56 would be superseded, but not so अप् taught in the subsequent aphorism III. 3. 57.

Why do we say 'when they are the names of measures'? Observe निश्चयः 'ascertaining'.

The word आख्यः has been used in the aphorism in order to indicate that the words so formed are not Primitive words (रूढि). The numerals are also there included, and not only measures like *Prastha*, *Pala* &c.

We have said above, that the force of the word सर्वेभ्यः in this sūtra is to indicate that the affix घञ् must be used after all verbs (not excluding even such verbs as require अच् or अप् by sūtras 56 and 57), when we want to express measure. This must be taken however, with certain limitations. The word सर्वेभ्यः is not after all so wide as at first sight it may appear. If we wish to form a word indicating measure, in the feminine gender, we cannot use घञ्; we must use the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 94). In other words, the feminine affixes are not superseded by घञ् when it supersedes अच् and अप्. Thus in forming a feminine noun denoting measure, we have एकान्तिनोच्छिन्तिः, द्वे प्रसूती &c.

Vart:—The affix घञ् comes after the causative verbs हरि and जारि, and there is *luḥ* elision of the causative affix णिच्; when the word so formed is related to the verb as agent. Thus हरयन्ति भ्रातृन् = हाराः 'a wife' (lit 'who divides brothers' a wife breaking up the brotherly love); जारयन्ति = जाराः 'a paramour',

इङ् ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इङः, च, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इङो धातोर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अपादाने स्त्रियामुपसंख्यानम् तदन्ताच्च वा ङीप् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घृ वायवर्धनिवृत्तेषु ॥

21. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'in' (to study).

This debars अच् (III. 3. 56). As अधि+इ+चम् = अधि+ऐ+अ = अध्याय 'a lesson or lecture'; उपाध्यायः (उपेत्यासावधीते) 'a teacher'.

Vart.—When the word to be formed is related to the verb इङ् as an ablative, the word is feminine also and optionally takes the affix ङीप्. As उपेत्याधीयते ऽस्या = उपाध्याया or उपाध्यायी 'a female teacher'.

Vart.—The affix चच् comes after the root गृ when the word so formed means 'wind', 'color', or 'cessation'. As शारः 'wind', 'green colour' &c. गौरिवाकून-नीशारः प्रायेण शिशिरे कृशः ।

उपसर्गे रुवः ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदे रौतेर्धातोर्धम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

22. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'rñ' (to roar), when it has an upasarga in composition with it.

This debars अच् (III. 3. 57). As संरावः 'clamour', उपरावः &c.

Why do we say 'compounded with an upasarga'? Observe रुवः 'sound'.

समि युद्गुदुवः ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, यु-द्गु-दुवः, (घञ्) ॥

— वृत्तिः ॥ समि उपपदे यु द्गु दु इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो चम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

23. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'yu' (to join), 'dru' (to run) and 'du' (to burn), when in composition with the preposition 'sam'.

As संयवः, संदायः, संदावः । But प्रयवः where the preposition is not *sam*.

श्रिणीभुवोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ श्रि-णी-भुवः, अनुपसर्गे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ श्रि णी भू इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽनुपसर्गेभ्यो चम् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

24. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'sri' (to go to) 'ñi' (to lead) and 'bhû' (to be), when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 56). As आश्रयः 'shelter', नाश्रयः 'a means', अश्रयः 'a condition'.

But with *upasargas*, we have प्रश्रयः 'respect', प्रणयः 'love', प्रभवः 'source'.

How do we explain the form प्रभावः in प्रभावे राज्ञः 'the splendour of the king'? Here the word प्रभावः is not made from the compound root, प्रभू+चम्, but by compounding प्र with भाव by the rules of *saṃāsa*, meaning 'excellent condition'.

How do you explain the form नय in नयो राक्षः ? Here the root नृ has taken the affix अच् diversely by III. 3. 113.

वौ क्षुश्रुवः ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ वौ, क्षु-श्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वावुपपदे क्षु श्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

25. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'kshu' (to sneeze), and 'śru' (to move and hear) when the preposition 'vi' is in composition.

This debars the affix अच् (III. 3. 57); as, विज्ञावः 'cough'; विभावः 'flowing forth', 'celebrated'. But when without preposition, we have जवः and श्रवः.

अवोदोर्नियः ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अव-उदोः, नियः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उत् इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्नियतेर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'ni' (to lead) when the prepositions 'ava' and 'ut' are in composition.

As अवनाथः 'throwing down'; उज्जायः 'elevation'.

How do you explain उज्जायः in उज्जायः उज्जयानाम् ? Here the affix is 'ach' by III. 3. 113.

प्रे द्रुस्तुस्रुवः ॥ २७ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, द्रु-स्तु-स्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेशब्द उपपदे द्रु स्तु स्रु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

27. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'dru', 'stu' and 'sru', when the word in composition is 'pra'.

As प्रज्ञावः, प्रस्तावः, प्रसावः । But not so in द्रवः, स्तवः and स्रवः ।

निरभ्योः पूल्वोः ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ निर्-अभ्योः, पू-ल्वोः (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निरभिपूर्वयोः पूल्वोर्धातोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

28. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'pû' (to purify) and 'lu' (to cut) when 'nir' and 'abhi' are respectively in composition.

The word पू refers to both पूङ् and पूञ्. The rule I. 3. 10. must be applied here, and thus निर् comes before पू, and अभि before लू । As निष्पावः 'winnowing'; अभिज्ञावः 'moving'. But पवः and जवः, without these prepositions.

उत्तन्योः ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत्-न्योः, यः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्तन्योरुपपदयोः गु इत्येताभ्यां धातुभ्यां घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grî' when the upasargas 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition.

The verb गृ here refers to both the verbs गृ 'to make sound', and गृ 'to swallow'. As उर्गारः समुद्रस्व 'the roaring of the sea'; निगारो देवदत्तस्व 'the swallow-

ing of Devadatta'. But when without these prepositions, we have गरः ।

कृ धान्ये ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृ, धान्ये, (घञ्, उन्त्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृ इत्येतस्माद्भातोऽहन्त्योरुपपदयोर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति धान्यविषयश्चेद्भात्यर्थो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'krī', when the prepositions 'ut' and 'ni' are in composition and when the sense of the verb relates to grain.

The verb कृ here means 'to scatter', and not 'to injure', because no words formed by this affix are found in Sanskrit in that sense.

As उत्कारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'; निकारो धान्यस्य 'the winnowing of corn'. But when not referring to grain, we have भैक्षोत्करः 'a heap of alms', पुष्पनिकरः 'the essence or heap of flowers'.

यज्ञे समि स्तुवः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ यज्ञे, समि, स्तुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यज्ञविषये प्रयोगे संपूर्वास्तौतिर्घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stu' when it is preceded by the upasarga 'sam' and the word refers to sacrificial subjects.

As संस्तावश्छन्दोगानाम् 'the Sanstāva of the Chhandogas; संस्ताव(= समेन्य स्तुवन्ति यस्मिन् देशे छंदोगाः स देशः) means 'the place which the Brāhmaṇas repeat hymns and prayers, occupy at a sacrifice'.

But when not referring to sacrifice we have संस्तवश्छात्रयोः 'the praising together of the two pupils'.

प्रे स्त्रोऽयज्ञे ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रे, स्त्रः, अयज्ञे, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोः प्रशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति, न च यज्ञविषयः प्रयोगो भवति ॥

32. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'strī' (to cover), when preceded by the preposition 'pra'; provided that the word so formed does not refer to sacrifice'.

As, शंखप्रस्तारः 'a bed of conch'; मणिप्रस्तारः 'strewing of gems'.

प्रथने वावशब्दे ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रथने, वौ, अशब्दे, (स्त्रः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम् आच्छादने अस्माद्भातोर्विशब्दउपपदे घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति प्रथने गम्यमाने तच्च स्पर्धनं शब्दविषयं न भवति ॥

33. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'stri' (to cover), when the preposition 'vi' is in composition with it, when the sense is that of extension, and when such spreading does not refer to words.

The word प्रयत्न means 'extent, circuit, range'. As पटस्य विस्तारः 'the extension of the garment'.

Why do we say 'when meaning extent'? Observe, लणविस्तरः 'a collection of grass'. Why do we say 'not referring to words'? Observe विस्तरो वचसाम् 'proximity of words'.

छंदो नाम्नि च ॥ ३४ ॥ छंदः, नाम्नि, च, (वौ, स्त्रः, च०)

वृत्तिः ॥ विपूर्वात्स्त्वणात्छन्दोनाम्नि चम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'ghan' comes after 'stri' with the upasarga 'vi', when the word so formed is the name of a metre.

The word छन्द here means prosodial metre such as Gâyatri &c; and not the Vedas; otherwise the word नाम would not have been used. Thus वि+स्त्व+चम्=वि+स्त्+चम्(VIII. 3. 94)=विष्टारः 'the name of a metre called Vishtāra-Pankti'.

The whole word विष्टारपङ्क्ति is the name of a metre, and is not a word ending with the affix ghan; only a member of this word, i. e. the first part ends with ghan. The seventh case-affix in the word छन्दोनाम्नि has the force of location i. e. when the word so formed occurs in a portion of a name of a metre; it is not the full name, but it is in the name i. e. forms a portion of the name.

उदि ग्रहः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, ग्रहः, (च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उद्युपपदे ग्रहेर्होतोर्चम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ छन्दसि निपूर्वादिपीड्यते सुगुह्यमननिपातनयोः ॥

35. The affix 'ghan' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix अप्. As उद्ग्रहः 'lifting up'.

Var.:—In the Vedas this affix is applied even when the word ग्रह is preceded by नि; and the ह is changed into भ; the sense of the two words being 'to lift up' and 'throw down' respectively of the sacrificial ladle; as, उद्ग्रामं च निग्रामं च ब्रह्मदेवा अवीषधन् ।

समि मुष्टौ ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समि, मुष्टौ, (ग्रहः, च०) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम्मुपपदे ग्रहेर्होतोर्चम्प्रत्ययो भवति मुष्टिविषयश्चेद्भावर्थो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'ghan' comes after the root 'grah' when in composition with the preposition 'sam' when the sense of the root refers to fist.

The word मुष्टि means 'boxing', 'fist'; as, अहो मल्लस्य संग्रहः 'O! the clenching of the fist of the athlete'; अहो मुष्टिकस्य संग्रहः 'O! the seizing of the boxer', meaning grasping firmly.

Why do we say 'referring to fist'? Observe संग्रहो धान्यस्य 'a collection of grain'.

**परिन्योनींशोद्युताशेषयोः ॥३७॥ पदानि ॥ परि-न्योः, नी-इशोः,
द्युत-अशेषयोः, (घ०) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दे निशब्दे चोपपत्तेः यथासंख्यं निय इणश्च धातोर्धञ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अशेषो-
पपादः, द्युताशेषयोः ॥

37. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the roots 'ni' (to lead), and 'i' (to go), when the prepositions 'pari' and 'ni' are respectively in composition with them, and when the words so formed respectively mean 'a game' and 'propriety or arrangement or law'.

Here again we take help of I. 3. 10 in interpreting this sūtra. The verbs परि+नी and नि+इ, take घञ् when respectively meaning 'gambling' and 'fitness'. As परिणायेन शारान् हन्ति 'he kills (or takes) many pieces by moving a chessman.' Here परिणाय=समन्तात्त्रय means 'the moving of chess-pieces from every side, and so winning the game'. So also नि+इ+घञ्=नि+हे+भ=नि+आय=न्यायः 'justice', 'propriety', 'logic'.

But when not having these senses, we have परिणयः 'marriage', and न्ययं 'decay'; as न्ययङ्गतः पापः 'the sin has been destroyed'. The word अवेष means पदार्थानामनपचारी यथाप्राप्तकरणम् ।

परावनुपात्यय इणः ॥३८॥पदानि॥ परी, अनुपात्यये, इणः, (घ०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपत्तेः इणो धातोर्धञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अनुपात्यये गम्यमाने ॥

38. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'i' (to go) in composition with the word 'pari' when the sense is that of following in regular succession.

As पर्यायः 'turn, succession'; तव पर्यायः 'thy turn'; मम पर्यायः 'my turn'.

Why do we say 'when meaning turn'? Observe कालस्य पर्ययः 'the lapse of time'. The word अनुपात्ययः=क्रमप्राप्तस्यानतिपातः 'not breaking the series or order'.

व्युपयोः शैतेः पर्याये ॥३९॥पदानि॥ वि-उपयोः, शैतेः, पर्याये, (घ०)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वि उप इत्येतद्योरुपपत्तेः शैतेर्धातोर्धञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'śi' (to lie down) when the prepositions 'vi' and 'upa' are in composition with it, and when the sense of the word so formed is that of 'regular succession'.

As, तव विश्रायः 'thy turn of sleeping' (i. e. the rest enjoyed in rotation by the sentinels on watch); मम विश्रायः 'my turn of rest'; तव राजोपश्रायः=तव राजानस्य पशवितुम्पश्रायः 'thy turn of sleeping the king'.

Why do we say 'regular succession'? Observe उपश्रायः 'lying by, the side of or ambush'; विश्रायः 'doubt'.

हस्तादाने चेरस्तेये ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्तादाने, चेः, अस्तेये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तादाने गम्यमाने चिनोतेर्धातोर्धर्मप्रत्ययो भवति, नचेत् स्तेयं चौर्यं भवति ॥
वार्त्तिकम् ॥ उच्चयस्य प्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

40. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to collect), when the sense expressed is that of taking by hand, provided it does not refer to stealing.

By saying 'taking by hand' the close proximity of the person taking to the thing accepted or taken is indicated. As पुष्पग्रचायः 'gathering flowers by hand'; फलग्रचायः 'gathering fruits by hand'.

Why do we say 'taking by hand'? Observe वृक्षामस्थानां फलानां यद्व्याग्रचयं करोति 'he gathers with the stick the fruits hanging on the top of the tree'.

Why do we say 'when not meaning to steal'? Observe पुष्पग्रचयश्चौर्येण 'the gathering of flowers by theft'.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of the word उच्चयः 'gathering'; as पुष्पग्रचयः 'gathering of flowers by hand'.

**निवासचितिशरीरोपसमाधानेष्वादेश्च कः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ नि-
वास-चिति-शरीर-उपसमाधानेषु, आदेः, च, कः, (घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ निवास चिति शरीर उपसमाधान, एतेष्वर्थेषु चिनोतेर्धर्मप्रत्ययो भवति धानोरादेश्च ककार आदेशो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'ghañ', comes after the root 'chi' (to gather), and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in these senses viz.—'a dwelling', 'a fire on the funeral pile', 'the body' and 'collection'.

That in which people dwell (निवसति) is called निवासः or 'dwelling'. That which is gathered together (चौर्यं) is called चिति or 'funeral pile'. शरीर means the body of all living beings; and उपसमाधान means making a heap. Thus निकायः 'a dwelling'; as in काशीनिकायः 'Kāśī-dwelling'; आकायमग्निं चिन्वीत 'let him arrange the ākāya fire i. e. the funeral fire': कायः 'body', as अनित्यः कायः 'a perishable body'; महान् गोमयनिकायः 'a heap of cow-dung'.

Why do we say 'when having these senses'? Observe चयः 'gathering'. Why is not this rule applied in महान् काष्ठनिचयः 'a large heap of wood'? Here multiplicity is expressed and not collection or aggregation.

**संघे चानौत्तराध्वर्ये ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघे, च, अनौत्तराध्वर्ये,
(चेः, आदेश्च, कः, घञ्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ संघे वाच्ये चिनोतेर्धातोर्धर्मप्रत्ययो भवति आदेश्च कः ॥

42. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'chi' (to gather) and 'k' is the substitute of the initial 'ch' in

the sense of 'a multitude or assembly' (of living beings possessing some common characteristics), but not merely a confused crowd of men.

The word संघ means a collection or assembly of living beings. It is of two sorts :—either by collection of persons possessing common qualifications, or a mere confused crowd of men. The collection denoting a confused crowd is here excepted and by *paryuddsa* negation the other is taken. Thus भिक्षु-निकायः 'the assembly of beggars'; ब्राह्मणनिकायः 'the assembly of Brāhmaṇas'; वैयाकरणनिकायः 'the assembly of Grammarians'.

But सूकरनिचयः 'a herd of hogs'; because it is a mere collection. So also कृताकृतसमुच्चयः 'the collection of what is done and not done'; प्रमाणसमुच्चयः 'the collection of proofs'. Here there is no संघ in either of the two senses, it not being a collection of living animals, the affix *ghañ* is not employed.

कर्मव्यतिहारे यच् स्त्रियाम् ॥ ४३ ॥ पूदानि ॥ कर्म-व्यतिहारे,
यच्, स्त्रियाम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मव्यतिहारे गम्यमाने कर्तव्येण्यप्रत्ययो भवति स्त्रीलिङ्गे वाच्यं ॥

43. The affix 'nach' comes after a root in denoting reciprocity of action, and the word so formed is in the feminine gender.

The word कर्म means 'action' and is not the technical 'Karma' meaning the accusative case. व्यतिहार means reciprocity or interchange of action. The word so evolved is feminine in form and denotes mere 'action' (भाव) also. The anubandha च in एच् is qualitative and is added to distinguish this affix from other affixes: thus in sūtra V. 4. 14 this particular affix is meant.

Thus वि + अव + क्रुग् + एच् + अच् + डीप् = व्यावक्रोशी (V. 4. 14, and VII. 3. 6) 'mutual abuse'. So also व्यावहासी, व्यावहोदी. The affix एच् forms only an imaginary stem; for this stem must take the affix अच् by V. 4. 14, which even does not form the complete word until the affix डीप् of the feminine is added.

Why do we say 'in the feminine'? Observe, व्यतिपाको वर्तते ।

The making of this as a separate sūtra by itself and not reading it in the subdivision of feminine affixes beginning with क्तिन् (III. 3. 94) is for the sake of removing the obstructing aphorisms that would otherwise have prevented the application of this rule.

For, had it been taught in connection with क्तिन् &c, then the affixes that would have debarred क्तिन् &c, would, *a fortiori* have debarred this also. But by keeping it separate from that class, it is indicated that those obstructive affixes which debar क्तिन् &c, do not debar this. Thus व्यावक्रोरी, व्यावचोरी । Here क्रुर् being a णन्त class root would have taken युच् (III. 3. 107) in the femi-

nine, as चोरण; and चर्च् would have taken अह् by III. 3. 104, as चर्चा. The roots ईष् and ईह्, by III. 3. 102 & 103, take अ by debarring क्तिन्। This debarring affix अ, however, is not debarred by this rule; as व्यतीक्षा, व्यतीहा are the proper feminine forms, and not व्यतीक्षी &c. The form व्यतीक्षी is, however, an apparent exception. All these exceptions, counter-exceptions &c. are examples of बहुलं taught in III. 3. 113.

अभिविधौ भाव इनुण् ॥४४॥ पदानि॥ अभिविधौ, भावे, इनुण् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अभिविधौ गम्यमाने धातोर्भावे इनुण्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'inum' comes after a root in denoting condition, when co-extensiveness is meant.

The word अभिविधि means co-extensiveness, that is to say, the complete comprehension or relation between the action and the quality. Thus संरात्रिणम् 'a general or tumultuous uproar'; सं+कूट्+इन्+अण् (V. 4. 15. and VI 4. 164) = संकूटिनम् 'a general confusion'; so सान्नादिणम् 'a general flow or stream'.

Why do we say 'when meaning co-extensiveness'? Observe संक्रोष्टः, संरात्रः, सद्रात्रः ।

Why do we use the word भाव again in this sūtra, when its anuvritti was already flowing from sūtra III. 3. 18? The object is that the वासस्वरूप rule (III. 1. 94) should not apply here and hence घञ् never comes in this sense. Pātanjali says that the repetition is for the sake of indicating that in neuter gender, when co-extensiveness is expressed, the affixes क्त &c. are prohibited; so that the affixes क्त &c. should not come in the neuter with the force of भाव ।

The separateness of this sūtra is for the same purpose as the last aphorism. The affix ल्युट् is not, however, prohibited; as संकूटनन्। See rule कृत्यल्युटो बहुलं (III. 3. 113). The affix इनुण् (the operative part being इन्) forms but an imaginary stem, which does not become real and complete till it takes the affix अण् by V. 4. 15, as shown above.

आक्रोशेऽवन्योर्ग्रहः ॥४५॥ पदानि॥ आक्रोशे, अवन्योः, ग्रहः, (घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव नि इत्येतयोरुपपत्त्योर्ग्रहोर्धातोर्ग्रहप्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

45. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'grah' (to seize), in composition with 'ava', and 'ni'; when malediction is meant.

Though इनुण् is immediately, near, we take the anuvritti of घञ् (III. 3. 16), because we see that its anuvritti is possible.

The word आक्रोश means 'cursing'. As अवमाहो हन्त ते वृषजभूतात् 'cursed be thou, O sinner'. So also निग्राहस्ते भूयुत् ।

Why 'when meaning cursing'? Observe अवग्रहः परस्वः, निग्रहश्चोरस्वः ।

ग्रे लिप्सायाम् ॥४६॥ पदानि॥ ग्रे, लिप्सायाम्, (ग्रहः, घञ्)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ 'प्रशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति निप्सायाम् गन्धमानायाम् ॥

46. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', when the word 'pra' is in composition, and the sense denoted is the desire of acquisition.

As पात्रप्रमाहेण चरति भिक्षुः पिण्डार्थी 'the beggar walks for the sake of alms, carrying a vessel in hand'; ब्रुवप्रमाहेण चरति द्विजो वृत्तिणार्थी 'carrying a sacrificial ladle, the Brāhmaṇa walks about for his fee'. The word निप्सा means the wish to have something'.

Why do we say 'when meaning desire of gain'? Observe प्रमहो देवदत्तस्य ।

परौ यज्ञे ॥ ४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ परौ, यज्ञे, (ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे ग्रहेर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the root 'grah', in composition with 'pari' when it relates to sacrificial subjects.

As उत्तरपरिमाहः 'the northern fencing of the sacrificial altar'; अधर-परिमाहः 'the southern fencing of the sacrificial altar'.

Why do we say 'when relating to sacrifices'? Observe परिमहः देवदत्तस्य 'the fencing of Devadatta'.

नौ वृ धान्ये ॥ ४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, वृ, धान्ये, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्दउपपदे वृ दृत्येतस्माद्भातोर्धान्यविशेषेऽभिधेये घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'vri' preceded by 'ni'; when the sense is that of grain.

The वृ here means both वृङ् and वृञ्. This debars the affix अप्. As नीवाराः 'rice growing wild or without cultivation'.

Why do we say 'meaning grain'? Observe निवरा कन्या 'a virgin girl'.

उदि अयतियौतिपूद्रुवः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदि, अयति-यौति-पू-द्रुवः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उच्छब्दउपपदे अयतयादिभ्यो घञ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'ghañ' comes after the verbs 'sri', 'ya', 'pū' and 'dru', when the preposition 'ut' is in composition.

This debars the affix *ach* (III. 3. 56). Thus उच्छब्दायः 'rising of a planet'; उद्यावः 'mixing'; उत्पावः 'purifying ghee'; and उद्रावः 'fight'.

How do you explain the form समुच्छ्रयः in पतनान्ताः समुच्छ्रयाः? The word विभाषा 'optionally', in the next sūtra, exerts a retrospective effect on this sūtra, and the form is an optional one. This is a most unusual thing and is

called *सिंहावलोकनन्यायः* 'the maxim of the lion's backward glance'. It is used when one casts a retrospective glance at what he has left behind, while at the same time he is proceeding, just as the lion, while going onward in search of prey, now and then bends his neck backwards to see if any thing be within its reach.

विभाषा ऽऽडि रूप्लुचोः ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आडि, रूप्लुचोः, (घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आडि उपपदे रौतेः ह्रवत्तेश्च विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verbs 'ru' (to roar) and 'plu' (to float), when the preposition 'ān' is in composition.

As आराधः or आरवः 'noise'; आश्रावः or आश्रवः 'bathing'.

अवे ग्रहो वर्षप्रतिवन्धे ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, ग्रहः, वर्ष-प्रतिवन्धे, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवे उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति विभाषा वर्षप्रतिवन्धेऽभिधेयं ॥

51. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the root 'grah', when the word 'ava' is in composition, the sense being withholding of rain.

The word 'optionally' is understood here. The word वर्षप्रतिवन्ध means, the absence of rain, from some cause or another, when the season has arrived ; as अवग्रहः or अवग्रहो देवस्य 'the draught of rain'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'obstruction of rain'? Observe अवग्रहः पदस्य ।

मे वणिजाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ मे, वणिजाम्, (विभाषा, ग्रहः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मे ऽऽडि उपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तवाच्यश्च वणिजा सम्बन्धी भवति ॥

52. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed relates to commerce.

Both the words *grah* and *vibhāshā* are understood here. By 'relation to commerce' is meant here the string of the balance; and not commerce in general. That string by which a balance is held is called तुलाग्रहः or तुलाग्रहाहः, as तुलाग्रहाणे चरति or तुलाग्रहेण चरति; and this may be said of any person whether he be a trader or not.

Why do we say 'when belonging to commerce'? Observe भग्नहो देवदत्तस्य 'the whip of Devadatta'.

रश्मी च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ रश्मी, च, (ग्रहः, विभाषा, मे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मे शब्दोपपदे ग्रहेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति रश्मिश्चोत्पत्ययान्तोऽभिधीयते ॥

*53. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'grah' in composition with 'pra', when the word so formed means 'a rein'.

The word रश्मि means here the bridle by means of which horses &c. joined to the carriage, are held under control ; as प्रग्रहः or प्रमाहः 'a rein'.

वृणोतिराच्छादने ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ वृणोतेः, आच्छादने, (विभाषा, प्रे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रशब्दउपपदे वृणोतेर्धातोर्विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति प्रत्ययान्तं चेदाच्छादनविशेष उच्यते ।

54. The affix 'ghañ' comes optionally after the verb 'vri' (to choose), when 'pra' is in composition, and the word so formed means 'a sort of covering'.

As प्रावारः or प्रवरः 'a cloak, a veil'.

Why do we say 'when it means a covering' ? Observe प्रवारगो ।

परौ भुवो ज्वज्जाने ॥ ५५ ॥ परौ, भुवः, अवज्जाने, (विभाषा, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्दउपपदे विभाषा घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति अवज्जाने गम्यमाने ॥

55. The affix 'ghañ' is optionally employed after the verb 'bhû', the word 'pari' being in construction, and the sense of the word so formed being 'disregard'.

The word अवज्ञान means 'contempt', 'neglect', 'disregard' &c. As परिभावः or परिभवः 'insult, humiliation'.

Why do we say 'when meaning disregard' ? The word परिभवः may be then construed to mean सर्वतोभवनं=परिभवः 'surrounding'.

एरच् ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, अच्, (अकर्तरि, संज्ञायाम्, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इवर्णान्ताद्धातोर्भावे अकर्तरि च कारके संज्ञायाम्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भङ्गिष्वो भयादिनामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ जवसवो छन्दसि वक्तव्यौ ॥

56. The affix 'ach' comes after a root ending in 'i' or 'î' (when mere action is denoted, or when the sense is that of an appellative, the word being related to the ~~verb~~ from which its name is deduced, but not as an agent).

The words within brackets are to be supplied from sûtras 18 and 19 ; and these words are to be supplied in every subsequent sûtra as far as sûtra 113 of this chapter. This debars घञ्. The च् in अच् is qualitative, in sûtras like VI. 2. 144.

Thus, चयः 'collecting'; अयः 'going'; जयः 'victory'; सयः 'wasting'.

Vart.—In this connection the words भय &c. should also be enumerated. As भी+अच्=भयम् 'fear'; वर्षम् 'rain'. These being neuter words, otherwise would have taken the affix क् &c. but for this Vārtika.

Vart.—The words जव and सव are formed by this affix, and occur in the Vedas. As ऊर्वोरस्तु मे जवः, पंचादनसवः। These roots जु and सु would have otherwise taken the affix अप्. The form would have been the same, but there would be difference of accent. See Rig. I. 112. 21, and Yaj. XI. 2.

ऋदोरप् ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऋत्-ओः, अप् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऋकारान्तेभ्य उवर्णान्तेभ्यश्च अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. After a root ending in long 'ri', short 'u', or long 'û', there is the affix 'ap'.

This debars घञ्. The प् is indicatory for the sake of accent (III. 1. 3); as, वृ+अप्=करः 'scattering'; गृ+गरः 'beverage, poison'; शृ+शरः 'arrow'; यु+यवः 'barley'; जृ+जवः 'reaping'; पू+पवः 'winnowing corn'.

The ण् in ऋङ् is merely for the sake of euphony: it is not ण् changed into ण्; for then by the rule "that which follows ण् is also called तपर" short उ only would have been taken and not long ऊ (I. 1. 70).

ग्रहवृद्धनिश्चिगमश्च ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ ग्रह-वृ-ट्-निश्चि-गमः, च, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्रहादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो ऽप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ वशिष्टयो रूपसंख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ घञार्थे कविधानं स्थास्नापत्यधिहिनियुध्यर्थम् ॥

58. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'grah', 'vri', 'dri', 'niśchi' and 'gam'.

This debars घञ्; and in the case of निश्चि the affix अच् is debarred. As ग्रहः 'a planet'; वरः 'a boon'; हरः 'tearing, a cave'; निश्चयः 'certainty'; गमः 'march'.

The verb निश्चि would have taken अच्, but takes अप् which causes difference of accent.

Vart.—The roots वञ् and रण् should also be included in this; as वञः 'obedient'; रणः 'battle'.

Vart.—When the sense is that of घञ्, the affix क् is directed to be employed, after the following verbs :—स्था, स्ना, पा, व्यध्, हन् and युष्. As प्रस्थः 'a table-land' (on which they move); प्रस्नः 'a vessel for bathing' (in which they bathe); प्रपाः 'a place where water is distributed to travellers' (that out of which they drink); आविधः (VI. 1. 16) 'an awl, a drill' (that by which they pierce); विष्ठः 'an obstacle' (in which they are obstructed); आयुष्ः 'battle' (where they fight).

उपसर्गेऽदः ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, अदः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्ग उपपदेऽवर्धातीरपप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

59. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat) when an upasarga is in composition.

As विषसः (II. 4. 38) 'half-chewed morsel'; मघसः 'voracious'.

Why do we say 'when compounded with an upasarga'? Observe घासः 'grass'; अद् + घञ् = घस् + अ (II. 4. 38).

नौ ण च ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, ण, च, (अद्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निशब्द उपपदे भवेर्धातोर्णः प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद् च ॥

60. And the affix 'na' as well as 'ap', comes after the verb 'ad' (to eat), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition.

As नि + अद् + ण = नि + आद् + अ = न्याहः (VII. 2. 116) 'feeding'; नि + अद् + अप् = नि + घस् + अ (II. 4. 38) = निघसः 'eating, food'.

व्यधजपोरनुपसर्गे ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्यध-जपोः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ व्यध जप इत्येतयोरेनुपसर्गयोः अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

61. The affix 'ap' comes after the verbs 'vyadh' and 'jap', when no upasarga is in composition with them.

This debars घञ्. As व्यधः 'wound'; जपः 'muttering'.

Why do we say 'when upasarga-less'? Observe आख्याया, उपजाया ।

स्वनहसौर्वा ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वन-हसोः, वा, (अप्, अनुपसर्गे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वनहसोरनुपसर्गयोर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

62. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'śvan' and 'has' when no upasarga is in composition with them.

Thus स्वनः or स्द्धानः 'sound'; हसः or हासः 'laughter'. But with upasargas, we have only one form; मस्यानः 'a loud noise'; म्हासः 'a loud laughter'.

यमः संतुपनिविषु च ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यमः, सम्-उप-नि-विषु, च, (अनुपसर्गे, वा, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सम् उप नि वि इत्येतेषूपपदेषु अनुपसर्गेऽपि यमेर्वा अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

63. And the affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'yam', when the upasargas 'sam', 'upa', 'ni' and 'vi' are in composition; or even when it is upasarga-less.

This debars घञ्. As संयामः or संयमः 'restraint'; उपयामः or उपयमः 'marriage'; नियामः or नियमः 'restrictive rule'; वियाम् or वियमः 'check, distress'; यामः or यमः ।

नौ गदनदपठस्वनः ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नौ, गद्-नद्-पठ-स्वनः, (अप्, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निगाद उपपदे गद नद पठ स्वन इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

64. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verbs 'gad' (to speak), 'nad' (to sound), 'path' (to read), 'svan' (to sound), when the upasarga 'ni' is in composition with them.

This debars वृत्. Thus निगादः or निगादः 'recitation'; निनदः or निनदः 'noise'; निपठः or निपठः 'reading'; निस्वनः or निस्वनः 'a noise'.

कणो वीणायां च ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कणः, वीणायाम्, च, (नी, वा, अनुपसर्गे, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कणतेर्भातोर्निरुपसर्गाच्च वीणायां वा अप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'ap' comes optionally after the verb 'kvan' (to jingle), when 'ni' is in composition with it, as well as when it is without any upasarga, or when 'flute' is meant.

This debars the affix वृत्. Thus निकणः or निकणः 'a musical tone'. कणः or कणः 'sound'. When it refers to 'flute', it must have some upasarga not necessarily नि; as कल्याणप्रकणा वीणा.

But not so here, अतिक्रान्ते वर्तते, where the upasarga being भति and the word not referring to 'a flute', no option is allowed. When flute is not meant the upasarga must be नि or no upasarga at all, for the optional application of the affix अप्. To sum up, कण् takes अप् optionally under three conditions:—1st when preceded by नि, or 2ndly when having no upasarga, or 3rdly when it refers to 'flute', and then it must have some upasarga.

नित्यं पणः परिमाणे ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ नित्यं, पणः, परिमाणे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पण व्यवहारे स्तुतो च, अस्माद्धातोर्नित्यमप्रत्ययो भवति परिमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

66. The affix 'ap' comes invariably after the verb 'pan' (to barter), when the sense is that of measure.

The word नित्यं 'invariably' is used in the aphorism, in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word optionally. Thus मूलकपणः 'a handful of radishes'; शाकपणः 'a handful of vegetable'. These words secondarily have come to mean 'a measure equal to a handful', irrespective of any thing.

When not meaning measure, we have पणः 'trade'.

सदोऽनुपसर्गे ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सदः, अनुपसर्गे, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सदेर्धातोर्नुपसर्गावप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

67. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'mad', when not in composition with an upasarga.

This debars चञ्. As विद्यामदः 'pride of knowledge'; धनमदः 'pride of wealth'; कुलमदः 'pride of family'. When compounded with upasargas, we have उन्मादः 'mad'; प्रमादः 'error or carelessness'.

प्रमद-सम्मदौ हर्षे ॥ ६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमद-सम्मदौ, हर्षे ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमद सम्मद इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्येते हर्षेऽभिधेये ॥

68. The words 'pramada' and 'sammada' are irregularly formed, meaning 'joy'.

As कन्यानां प्रमदः 'the joy of girls'; कोकिलानां संमदः 'the rejoicing of cuckoos'.

Why do we say 'when meaning delight'? Observe प्रमादः 'carelessness'; संमादः 'frenzy'.

Instead of saying 'the verb *mad* preceded by *pra* and *sam* takes the affix *ap*' which also would have given the above forms, the full forms have been used in the sūtra to indicate that these words are कृदि in this sense; for the sense of the root is not visible in these words.

समुदोरजः पशुषु ॥ ६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सम-उदोः, अजः, पशुषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुदोरपपदयोरजतेर्द्धातोः पशुविषये धात्वयं प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

69. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'aj' (to go), when the prepositions 'sam' and 'ut' are in composition, and the word so formed refers to beasts.

This debars चञ्. The root अज 'means to go, to throw'. When preceded by सम्, it means 'a collection'; and preceded by उत् it means 'driving'. As समजः पशूनां 'a herd of cattle'; उदजः पशूनां 'driving forth of cattle'.

Why do we say 'when applying to cattle'? Observe समाजो ब्राह्मणानां, उदजः क्षत्रियाणां ।

अक्षेष्ु ग्लहः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ अक्षेष्ु, ग्लहः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ग्लह इति निपात्यते अक्षविषयश्चेद्भात्यर्थो भवति ॥

70. The word 'glaha' is irregularly formed, when the sense of the root refers to gambling.

This word is derived from the root गृह्. The verb गृह् takes the affix अप् and thus forms गृह्; and then irregularly र is changed into ल; as अक्षस्व ग्लहः 'cast of the dice'.

Why do we say 'when referring to gambling'? Observe गृहः पादस्व ।

Others say, this word is derived regularly from the root ग्लह् 'to gamble', by adding the affix अप्, and thus debarring चञ्. They suppose, therefore, the existence of the root ग्लह् to explain the form ग्लहः । The counter-example which they would give, is ग्लाहः 'receiving', formed by adding the affix चञ् ।

प्रजने सत्तेः ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रजने, सत्तेः, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सत्तेर्धातोः प्रजने विषयं अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

71. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'sri' (to flow), in the sense of impregnating (the covering of cows &c).

This debars घञ्. The word प्रजनं means 'the first covering of a cow by a bull'. As गवामुपसरः 'impregnation of cows'; पशूनामुपसरः 'impregnation of cattle'.

ह्वः संप्रसारणं च न्यभ्युपविषु ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, च, नि-अभि-उप-विषु, (अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नि अभि उप वि इत्येतेषु उपपठेषु ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् अप्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

72. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' (to call), when the preposition 'ni' 'abhi' 'upa' and 'vi' are in composition with it, and its semivowel is changed into the corresponding vowel.

This debars घञ्. As नि+ह्वे+अप्=नि+हु+अ(VI. I. 108)=नि+हो+अ(VII. 3. 84)=निहव (VI. I. 78) 'invocation'; अभिह्वः 'invocation'; उपह्वः 'invitation'; निह्वः 'calling'. But प्रहायः 'a summons'.

आडि युद्धे ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आडि, युद्धे, (ह्वः, संप्रसारणं, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आड् उपपठे ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम् प्रत्ययो भवति युद्धेऽभिधेये ॥

73. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' when the word in composition is the upasarga 'âh' and the semi-vowel of the root is changed into its corresponding vowel, when the word so formed means battle.

As आह्वः 'battle' (where they *challenge* each other). But otherwise आहायः 'calling'.

निपातमाहावः ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निपातम्, आहावः, (आडि, ह्वः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आहूपूर्वस्य ह्वयतेर्द्धातोः संप्रसारणम्प्रत्ययो वृद्धिश्च निपात्यते निपातं स्वेहभिधेयं भवति ॥

74. The word 'âhâva' is irregularly formed when meaning a trough.

The word आहावः is irregularly formed from ह्वे by the prefix आ, then samprasâraṇa, and the vṛiddhi of the vowel. Thus आ+ह्वे+अप्=आहु+अ=आहो+अ=आहावः 'a trough near a well for watering cattle'. Otherwise आहायः 'calling'. Even in the word आहावः the sense of calling is understood. It is that place near a well, containing water, where cattle are called or invited to drink water.

भावेऽनुपसर्गस्य ॥ ७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, (हवः, संप्रसारणम्, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनुपसर्गस्य हव्यत्तेः संप्रसारणमप्यप्रत्ययो भवति भावेऽभिधेये ॥

75. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'hve' and there is the change of the semi-vowel to its corresponding vowel, when the root is upasarga-less, and mere action is denoted.

As हवः 'calling'; हवे हवे सुहवं गुरुमिन्द्रम् ।

Why do we say 'when no upasarga is in composition with it? Observe आह्वयः । Though the anuvṛitti of the word भाव was understood in this aphorism from sūtra 18, its repetition here shows that the anuvṛitti of sūtra 19, which was running, must not be taken; so that this word applies to agent-kāraka also.

हनश्च वधः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हनः, च, वधः, (भावे, अनुपसर्गस्य, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हन्तेर्हानोरनुपसर्गं भावे अप् प्रत्ययो भवति, तन्मन्योनेन च वधादेशः, सचान्तोदात्तः ।

76. The affix 'ap' comes after the root 'han' when upasarga-less, in the sense of mere action, and 'vadha' is the substitute of 'han' before this affix.

Thus वध has udātta accent on its final. The affix अप् which is anudātta generally (III. I. 4) thus becomes udātta.

As वधश्चोराणाम् 'the killing of thieves'; वधोदस्युनाम् 'the killing of robbers'.

When action is not denoted, the affix वच् applies; as घातः 'a blow'.

So also when an upasarga is in composition with it; as प्रघातः घातः ।

The word च in the aphorism does not connect हन् with the substitute वध, there being no co-ordination, it refers to the affixes under discussion. Thus we have the affix वच् also; as घातः 'killing'.

मूर्त्तौ घनः ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ मूर्त्तौ, घनः, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मूर्त्तौऽभिधेयायां हन्तेरप्यप्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशः ॥

77. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the word so formed means solidity, and 'ghan' is the substitute.

The word मूर्त्तौ means 'hardness', 'solidity'. Thus अम्रघनः 'a mass of cloud'; दधिघनः 'solid curd'. How do we say घनं दधि? Here the quality is taken for the thing qualified.

अन्तर्घनो देशे ॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्तः, घनः, देशे, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्तर्घनादन्तेरप्यप्रत्ययो भवति घनादेशश्च भवति देशोऽभिधेये ॥

78. The verb 'han' preceded by the word 'an-tar' takes the affix 'ap', and 'ghan' is the substitute of the word 'han', when the word so formed means 'a country'.

As अन्तर + हन् + अप् = अन्तरं = घन् + अ = अन्तर्घनः 'name of a country of Bahika'; (a porch or court, an open space before the house between the entrance door and the house). Some write the word with a ण as अन्तर्घणः, that is also valid.

Why do we say 'when meaning a country'? Observe अन्तर्घातो 'striking in the middle'.

७८ अगारैकदेशे प्रघणः प्रघाणश्च ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अगार-एकदेशे, प्रघणः, प्रघाणः, घ, (हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रपूर्वस्य हन्तेः प्रघण प्रघाण इत्येतौ शब्दौ निपात्यन्ते अगारैकदेशे वाच्ये ॥

79. The words 'praghana' and 'praghâna' are irregularly formed meaning 'a portion of a dwelling house'.

Thus प्रघणः or प्रघाणः 'a porch before the door of a house, a portico'. This is formed from हन् with प्र, irregularly.

Why do we say 'when meaning a portion of a house'? Observe प्रघातः ।

उद्धनोत्थाधानम् ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ उद्धनः, अत्थाधानम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्पूर्वस्य हन्तेरुद्धन इति निपात्यन्तेऽत्थाधानं चैव भवति ॥

80. The word 'udghana' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'bench'.

This is formed from उत् + हन् irregularly. Thus उद्धनः 'a carpenter's bench' (the wood on which placing other planks &c. the carpenter carves &c).

When not having this sense, we have उद्घातः 'uneven'.

अपघनोऽङ्गम् ॥ ८१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपघनः, अङ्गम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपघन इति निपात्यन्ते, अङ्गः चैव भवति ॥

81. The word 'apaghana' is irregularly formed meaning 'a member of the body'.

This is formed irregularly from अप + हन्. Thus अपघनः 'a limb or member of the body'. The word अङ्गम् means a portion of the body, such as hand or foot, and not the whole body. Otherwise we have अपघातः ।

करणेऽयोविद्रुषु ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ करणे, अयः-वि-द्रुषु, (हनः, अप्, घनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अयसू वि द्रु इत्येतेषूपपदेशेषु हन्तेर्धातोः करणे कारकोऽपप्रत्ययो भवति, घनादेशश्च ॥

82. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han'

when the words 'ayas', 'vi' or 'dru' are in composition with it, when the word so formed is related to the verb as an instrument, and 'ghan' is the substitute of 'han'.

As अयोधनः 'a forge-hammer' (whereby the iron is destroyed); विघनः 'a mallet'; द्रुघनः 'an axe'. Some write द्रुघणः, the न being changed into ण either by rule VIII. 4. 3. or by including this word in the class of आरोहणादि (IV. 2. 89)

स्तम्बे क च ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्तम्बे, क, च, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्तम्बशब्द उपपदे करणे तारके हन्तेः कः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् ॥

83. The affix 'ka' also comes after the verb 'han', when 'stamba' (a clump) is the word in composition, and the relation of the word so formed to the verb is that of an instrument.

The word च in the sūtra draws in अप् from the last aphorism and in that case घन् replaces हन्. Thus स्तम्बघ्नः or स्तम्बघनः 'a small hoe for weeding clumps of grass'. In the feminine gender, the forms are स्तम्बघ्ना as well as स्तम्बघना । When क is added, we have स्तम्बघ्नः । Thus हन् + क = हन् + अ (VI. 4. 98) घ्न (VII. 3. 54). When अप् is added, हन् is totally replaced by घन् । When instrument is not meant, we have स्तम्बघातः ।

परी चः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ परी, चः, (करणे, हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिशब्द उपपदे हन्तेर्ज्ञातोरप्प्रत्ययो भवति करणेकारके चशब्दश्चावेक्षः ॥

84. The affix 'ap' comes after the verb 'han', when the upasarga 'pari' is in composition, and the relation between the word so formed, and the verb, is that of an instrument, and 'gha' replaces 'han'.

Thus परिचः or पलिचः (VIII. 2. 22) 'an iron beam used for locking or shutting the gate, an iron club'.

उपघ्न आश्रये ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपघ्न, आश्रये, (अप्, हनः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य हन्तेरपप्रत्यय उपधातोपश्च निपात्यते ॥

85. The word 'upaghna' is irregularly formed meaning 'an inclined place for leaning or support'.

It is formed by adding अप् (III. 3. 76) to the verb हन् preceded by the upasarga उप, then eliding the penultimate अ of ह; this is the irregularity. Then by sandhi-rules हन् is changed into घ्नः । This form would have been given by the affix क also, without any irregularity.

The word आश्रय refers to proximity, contiguity. Thus सर्वतोपघ्नः 'the declivity of the mountain'; so also ग्रामोपघ्नः 'bordering the village'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'support'? Observe पर्वतोपघातः ।

**संघोद्धौ गणप्रशंसयोः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ संघ-उद्धौ, गण-प्र-
शंसयोः, (अप्, घट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ सङ्घोद्धौर्द्वयोर्दन्तेर्द्वानोरपप्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते, यथासंख्यं गणोऽभिधेये
प्रशंसायां गम्यमानायाम् ॥

86. The words 'saṅgha' and 'udgha' are irregularly formed in the sense of 'a collection', and 'a praise' respectively.

These words are thus formed; सम् + हप् + अप् = सं + ह् + अ = सं + घ् + अ = संघः ।
Thus संघः पशूनाम् 'a herd of cattle'; so also उद्घो मनुष्यः 'an excellent man'.
The word 'respectively' is inserted from I. 3. 10. When not used in these
senses, we have संघातः 'union'.

निघो निमित्तम् ॥ ८७ ॥ पदानि ॥ निघः, निमित्तम्, (हनः, अप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निघ इति निपूर्वाद्दन्तेरपप्रत्ययटिलोपो घट् च निपात्यते निमित्तं चैदभिधेयं भवति ॥

87. The word 'nigha' is irregularly formed in the sense of 'as high as broad'.

The word निमित्त means 'measured all round' i. e. 'as high as broad'.
As निघा वृक्षाः 'trees as high as broad'. निघा शालायाः 'square or cubic or circular
halls'. Otherwise, when not meaning 'as high as broad', we have निघातः 'a blow'.
The word निमित्त = समन्तान्मितं, समारोहपरिणाहम् । It may be derived from म् or from
नि । In the first case it will mean 'measured' and in the other, 'erected, built'.
Professor Bothlingk refers to *Apastamba Dharma*. I. 20. 30 for the meaning
of this word.

**ड्वितः क्त्रिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, क्त्रिः, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् ड्वितो धातोः क्त्रिः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

88. The affix 'ktri' comes after the verb which has an indicative 'du', when denoting mere action &c.

The phrases 'when the sense is that of mere action', and 'when the sense
is that of an appellative, the word being related to the verb from which its name
is deduced, but not as agent', are of course understood in this, as in all the pre-
vious aphorisms. Then by IV. 4. 20, (of the affix क्त्रि, मप् is always the aug-
ment) we must add म्, for we can not use the affix, क्त्रि alone; but we must al-
ways use निम्. Thus डुपचप् 'to cook'—पक्वितम् 'what is ripe'; डुवप्—वपनिमम् 'sown'
(VI. I. 15); डुकृन्—कृत्रिमम् 'artificial'.

**द्वितोऽयुच् ॥ ८९ ॥ पदानि ॥ डु-इतः, अयुच्, (भावे, अकर्तरि,
कारके) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ डु इत्यस्य तस्माद् द्वितो धातोरयुच् प्रत्ययो भवति भावाद् ॥

89. After that verb which has an indicatory 'tu', the affix 'athuch' comes with the force of denoting mere action &c.

As द्रवेषु—वेषयुः 'a trembling'; दुभोधि—ध्वयुः 'swelling'; दुक्षु—क्षययुः 'sneezing'; द्रवु—वययुः 'burning'.

यजयाचयतविच्छप्रच्छरक्षो नङ् ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ यज-याच-यत-विच्छ-प्रच्छ-रक्षः, नङ्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यजादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो नङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

90. After the verbs 'yaj' (to worship), 'yâch' (to ask for), 'yat' (to strive), 'viechhh' (to shine), 'prachhh' (to ask) and 'raksh' (to preserve), comes the affix 'nan' with the force of denoting mere action &c.

The conditions of sūtras 18 and 19 are understood here also. The इ of नङ् is for the sake of prohibiting guṇa or vridhhi (I. 1. 5); as यज्ञः 'sacrifice', याचना 'solicitation'; यत्नः 'effort'; विभ्रः (VI. 4. 19) 'lustre'; प्रश्नः 'a question'; रक्षणः 'protection'.

The root प्रच्छ, by VI. 1. 16, ought to have changed its र into ऋ before the डित् affix नङ्. Its not doing so must be taken to be an irregularity countenanced by Pāṇini, as we know from the fact that Pāṇini himself uses the form प्रश्नः in III. 2. 117.

स्वपो नन् ॥ ९१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वपः, नन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वपेर्धातोर्नन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

91. The affix 'nan' comes, under similar circumstances after the verb 'svap' (to sleep).

The final न् is indicatory and regulates the accent (VI. 1. 197); as स्वप्नः 'a dream'.

उपसर्गे घोः किः ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसर्गे, घोः, किः, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसर्गे उपपदे पुमंजकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः किः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

92. The affix 'ki' comes under similar conditions, after a 'ghu' verb (I. 1. 20), when an upasarga is in composition with it.

The क् is indicatory, by force of which the final आ is elided (VI. 4. 64). Thus प्र+दा+कि=प्रदिः 'a present'; परिधिः 'the periphery of a wheel'; उपाधिः 'fraud'; अन्तर्दिः 'vanishing'.

कर्मण्यधिकरणे च ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, अधिकरणे, च, (घोः, भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपत्ते घुसंज्ञकेभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिः प्रत्ययो भवति, अधिकरणे कारके ॥

93. The affix 'ki' comes after a 'ghu' verb, when a word in the accusative case is in composition with it, and when the relation of the word so formed to its verb, is that of 'location'.

As जलधिः 'the ocean (in which water is held)'; शरधिः 'a quiver (that in which arrows are put)'.

The word 'location' in the aphorism indicates that the words so formed should have no other significance. The word च in the aphorism draws in the affix क्ति from the last sūtra.

स्त्रियां क्तिन् ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्, (भावे, अकर्तरि, कारके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावासौ धातोः क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ क्तिन्नावृत्तिश्च वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ श्रुयन्तिस्तुभ्यः करणे ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ग्लाम्नाड्याहाभ्यो निः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ऋकारत्वादिभ्यः क्तिन्निष्ठावद्भवति इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ सम्पदादिभ्यः क्तिप् ॥

94. To express an action &c. by a word in the feminine gender, the affix 'kṭin' is added to the root.

The conditions of rules III. 3, 18, and 19 are understood here, also. This supersedes घञ्, भञ् and अप् affixes. Thus कृतिः 'action'; वृत्तिः 'a gathering'; मतिः 'understanding'.

Vart.—The affix *kṭin* should be declared to come after the verbs आप् 'to get' &c. There is no list of these words given anywhere, but by seeing the form, we can infer the affix. Thus भातिः 'getting'; राद्विः 'accomplishment'; श्रितिः 'shining'; स्रितिः 'a slip'; ध्वस्तिः 'destruction'; लब्धिः 'gain'.

Vart.—So also after the verbs श्रु 'to hear', यज् 'to worship' and स्तु 'to praise', when instrument is meant; as श्रुतिः 'ear' (that by which we hear); so श्रुतिः 'a sacrifice'; स्तुतिः 'a praise'.

Vart.—The affix नि comes after the verbs श्लै 'to be exhausted', श्लै 'to fade', ज्या 'to grow old' and हा 'to leave'; as श्लानिः 'exhaustion'; श्लानिः 'fading', श्लानिः 'old age'; हानिः 'loss'.

Vart.—The affix क्तिन् coming after verbs ending in long ऋ and the verbs लृ &c. is like a Nishṭhā. Thus कीर्णः 'scattering'; This form is thus evolved: कृ + क्तिन् = कि + ति (VII. 1. 108) = किर + ति (I. 1. 51) = कीर् + ति (VIII. 2. 77). At this stage, त is changed into न by the affix being treated as a Nishṭhā (VIII. 2. 43), and this न is changed into ण by the ordinary rules of sandhi; so

also गीर्णः 'praise'; जीर्णः 'old age'; शीर्णः 'drying'; कृन् (VIII. 2. 44) 'cutting'; युज् 'joining'; धुज् 'agitation'; पूज् 'destruction'.

Vart.—The affix कृप् comes after the verbs संपत् &c; as संपत् 'prosperity'; विपत् 'a calamity'; प्रतिपत् 'access'. The affix क्तिन् is also employed after these verbs:—as संपत्तिः, विपत्तिः. The verbs लृ &c. are 21 verbs of kṛyādi class.

स्यागापापचो भावे ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्या-गा-पा-पचः, भावे,
(स्त्रियां, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रीलिङ्गे भावे क्तिन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

95. After the roots 'sthā' (to stand), 'gā' (to sing) 'pā' (to drink) and 'pach' (to cook), the affix 'kṭin' is employed, when a word in the feminine gender denoting a 'mere action' is to be expressed.

This debars the affix भङ् (III. 3. 106) which generally supersedes क्तिन् in cases of compound verbs ending in long आ. Thus प्रस्थितिः 'a journey' (VII. 4. 40); उद्गीति 'a singing aloud'; गै + क्ति = गा + ति (VI. 1. 45) = गी + ति (VI. 4. 66); संगतिः 'a concert'; प्रपीतिः 'a cistern'; संपीतिः 'drinking together'; पक्तिः 'cooking'.

The repetition of the word भाव in this aphorism, in spite of its anuvṛti being understood from sūtra 18 is to exclude every other significance.

How do we get forms like अवस्था and संस्था? Pāṇini himself, in his sūtras, has used forms like व्यवस्था &c. See I. 1. 34. This is enough justification for us to derive forms like अवस्था, संस्था &c. by applying the affix भङ् under rule 106, in spite of the present sūtra, which requires us to apply क्तिन् only.

मन्त्रे वृषेपचमनविद्भूवीरा उदात्तः ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ मन्त्रे,
वृष-इष-पच-मन-विद्-भू-वी-रा, उदात्तः, (भावे, स्त्रियाम्, क्तिन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ मन्त्रे विषये वृषादिभ्यो धातुभ्यः क्तिन्प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः ॥

96. In Mantra literature, 'kṭin' acutely accented comes after the following roots, forming words in the feminine gender, denoting a mere action:—'vrish' (to rain), 'ish' (to wish), 'pach' (to cook), 'man' (to think), 'vid' (to know), 'bhū' (to be), 'vi' (to go, to consume) and 'rā' (to give).

The construction of this sūtra is anomalous. Instead of the bases being put in the ablative case, they are put in the nominative case. Thus वृष्टिः 'raining'; इष्टिः 'wishing'; पक्तिः 'cooking'; मतिः 'thinking'; विन्तिः 'knowing'; भूतिः 'being'; वीतिः 'consuming'; रतिः 'giving'.

The affix क्तिन् has been generally ordained by sūtra 94 after all verbs. The present sūtra is made for the sake of regulating the accent in the case of these nouns. From इष् we have also an irregular noun इष्ट्या (III. 3. 101), and

another by the general rule 94 having acute accent on the first syllable, altogether 3 forms. See Rig Veda I. 116. 12; II 5. 6; I. 62. 3, 57. 2; IV. 24. 7; III. 39. 1; I. 6. 5, 60. 1; X. 95. 17 for these words.

**ऊतियूतिजूतिसातिहेतिकीर्त्तयञ्च ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊति-
यूति-जूति-साति-हेति-कीर्त्तयः, च, (उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उत्त्यादयः शब्दा निपात्यन्ते ॥

97. 'And these words viz. 'ûti' (preserving sport), 'yûti' (joining), 'jûti' (velocity), 'sâti', (destruction), 'heti' (a weapon) and 'kîrti' (fame) are anomalous forms, acutely accented.

The anuvṛitti of the word मञ्जे does not exist in this; but the word उदात्त of the last syllable is understood here. The word ऊति is thus formed:—भव् 'to protect' + क्तिन् = ऊ + ति: (VI. 4. 20) = ऊति: 1 this form is regular and could be evolved from sūtra 94 also; but not so the accent. The irregularity in वृत्ति: and जूति: consists in the lengthening of उ into ऊ; in साति: the आ of the root सै which becomes सा by VI. 1. 45, is not changed into इ, as rule VII. 4. 40 required, and this is the irregularity. This form may also be derived from the root सन् with perfect propriety, except as to the accent which would be regulated by the present sūtra: thus सन् + क्तिन् = सा + क्तिन् (VI. 4. 42) = साति. The form हेति may be derived either from हन् or हिनोति.

इन्द्र वाजेषु नोऽव सहस्रप्रधानेषु च । उग्रउग्रभिर्कृतिभिः ॥ (Rig. I. 7. 4) 'O Indra, mayst thou mighty, defend us in battles and in fights of a thousand duels, with thy mighty protections'.

**व्रजयजोर्भावे क्यप् ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ व्रज-यजोः, भावे, क्यप्,
(उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ व्रजयजोर्भात्वोः खिलिगे भावे क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति, उदात्तः ॥

98. The affix 'kyap' comes after the roots 'vraj' (to go) and 'yaj' (to worship) acutely accented in forming a word in the feminine denoting action.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus व्रज्या 'wandering, about'; इज्या (VI. 1. 15) 'worshipping'. The प् of क्यप् is indicative, and though it serves no purpose in this sūtra, it is, however, necessary in the next, for it is by force of क्यप् having प् that we add a त् by VI. 1. 71, in the words formed in the next aphorism.

**संज्ञायां समजनिषदनिपतमनविदषुज्शीङ्भृजिञः ॥ ९९ ॥ पदानि ॥
संज्ञायां, समज-निषद-निपत-मन-विद-षुज्-शीङ्-भृज्-इञः, (सिन्ध्यां, क्यप्,
उदात्तः) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ समजाहिभ्यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियां क्यप् प्रत्ययो भवति उदात्तः संज्ञायां विषये ॥

'99. The affix 'kyap' comes after the following verbs in forming a word in the feminine denoting an appellative' and is acutely accented viz:—'sam-aj' 'ni-shad', 'ni-pat', 'man', 'vid', 'suñ', 'śiñ', 'bhrīñ' and 'in'.

Thus समञ्ज्या 'an assembly'; निषद्या 'a small bed or couch'; निपद्या 'slippery ground'; मन्या 'thinking'; विद्या 'knowledge'; सुत्या (VI. I. 71) 'extraction of soma juice, parturition'; शद्या 'beJ'; मृत्या 'wages, services'; इत्या 'a litter, palanquin'.

Here a question arises as regards भृ. By rule III. I. 112, भृ would have taken क्यप्, and we could have got the form भृत्या by that rule also. But the भृत्या formed under that rule would not have denoted an appellative which the present rule does. It would be said that rule III. I. 112 when it used the words असंज्ञायां, was rather too wide, for क्यप् does come in denoting संज्ञा in feminine nouns by the present rule; so that the word असंज्ञायां there, must be qualified by the phrase, 'except in the feminine'. The test whether rule 112, is too widely worded or not, has been made to hinge on the forming of the term भार्या meaning 'wife'. This word is formed by the affix एयत् to the exclusion of क्यप्

संज्ञायां पुंसि दृष्ट्वा न ते भार्या प्रसिध्यति ।

स्त्रियां भावाधिकारोऽस्ति न न भार्या प्रसिध्यति ॥

The word भावाधिकारः is explained by the author of Kāśikā as भावव्यापारो, वाच्यत्वेन विवक्षितः, न तु शाल्ख्योऽधिकारः ।

कृजः श च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ कृजः, श, च, (स्त्रियां, क्यप्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करोतेर्धातोः स्त्रियां शः प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् क्यप् च ॥

100. And after the root 'kri' comes the affix 'śa' in forming a feminine, as well as the affix 'kyap'.

By the force of the word-च we draw the affix क्यप् into this sūtra, and by the process called डेगविभाग we can split up this aphorism into two :—

(1) कृजः 'after the root कृ there is the affix क्तिन्'

(2) श च 'and the affix श as well as क्यप्'. Thus क्रिया, कृत्या (VI. I. 71) and कृतिः । When the affix श is added, the root assumes the form क्रिय by III. I. 67.

इच्छा ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा, (श) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इषेर्धातोः शः प्रत्ययो यागभादश्च निपात्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परिचर्यापरिसर्यादृगयाटाटधानामुपसंख्यानम् ॥

वात्तिकम् ॥ जागतेरकारो वा ॥

101. The form 'ichēhhâ' (desire) is irregular.

The word is thus formed : इष् + श = इच्छ + भ = इच्छा. The थक् ordained by III. I. 67 is not added, this is the irregularity.

Part.—The following words are also irregularly formed :—परिसर्ग 'perambulation'; परिचर्या 'attendance, service'; वृगया 'hunting'; भगवत् 'the habit of roaming about as a religious mendicant'.

Part.—From the root जागृ we have either जागरा or जागर्त्ता 'waking'. The first is formed by the affix अ, the latter by श् which brings in यक् (III. I. 67).

अ प्रत्ययात् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अ, प्रत्ययात्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रत्ययान्तो यो धातुभ्यः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

102. After the verbs that end in an affix, there is the affix 'a', the word being feminine.

The verbs that end in an affix are derivative roots, such as Desideratives, Causatives, Intensives and Denominatives. Though taking affixes, they are called धातु (III. I. 32), after these verbs the affix अ is used in forming the feminine noun.

Thus कृ + सन् = चिकीर्ष् 'to wish to do'; this is a Derivative root; after this root चिकीर्ष्, we add अ । Thus चिकीर्ष् + भ (VI. 4. 48) = चिकीर्ष । Then we add शप् by IV. 1. 4 and get चिकीर्षा 'the desire to do'; so also जिहीर्षा 'the desire to take'; पुत्रीया 'the desire to be like a son'; पुत्रकाम्या 'desire of a son'; जोञ्ज्या 'much cutting'; कण्डूया 'itch'. The sūtra is also found as अः प्रत्ययात् ।

गुरोश्च हलः ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ गुरोः, च, हलः, (स्त्रियां, अ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्तो यो धातुर्गुरुमान् ततः स्त्रियामकारः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

103. The affix 'a' comes after that verb which has a prosodially heavy vowel and ends in a consonant, when the word to be formed is feminine.

This debars क्तिन् । Thus कुण्डा 'an adulteress'; हुण्डा 'a tigress'; ईहा 'effort'; बहा 'supplying an ellipsis'.

Why do we say 'which has a prosodially heavy vowel'? Observe भक्ति 'devotion'. Why do we say 'which ends in a consonant'? Observe नीति 'polity'.

चिद्भिदादिभ्योऽङ् ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्, भिद्-आदिभ्यः, अङ्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिद्भ्यो भिद्भ्यश्च स्त्रियामङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

104. The affix 'an' comes after those verbs that have an indicative 'sh', and after 'bhid' &c, when the word to be formed is feminine.

Thus जृप् has an indicative ष, the real root being जृ । From it we have जरा 'old age' (VII. 4. 16); जपुष्—जपा, 'bashfulness'.

So also from verbs of *Bhiddi* class we have भिदा 'breaking'; in the alternative we have भिक्तः । So also छिदा 'cutting'; छित्तिः 'cutting'; भारा 'a knife, an

iron instrument'; भर्तिः 'distress'; धारा 'a stream'; धृतिः । The list of *Bhīdādi* verbs will not be found given in one place in the *Dhatupāṭha*. They have been collected from different *Ganas*, and are the following :—

भिरा, छिरा, विरा, क्षिपा, गुहा (गिर्याभ्योः), अद्धा, मेधा, गोधा, भारा, हारा, कारा, क्षिया, भारा, धारा, ज्ञेया, रेखा, चूडा, पीडा, वपा, वसा, मृजा, सृजा, कृपा, (कृपेःसंप्रसारणं च) ॥

चिन्तिपूजिकथिकुम्बिचर्चश्च ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ चिन्ति-पूजि-कथि-कुम्बि-चर्चः, च, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चिन्ति पूजि कथि कुम्बि चर्च एभ्यो धातुभ्यो युचि प्राप्ते स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ai' as well as the affix 'yuch' comes after the following verbs, forming feminine words:—'chint' (to think), 'pûj' (to worship) 'kath' (to narrate), 'kumb' (to cover) and 'charch' (to learn).

The force of च् is to include the affix युच् into this sūtra (see III. 3. 107). All these verbs belong to the *Churādi* or 10th class, and would have exclusively taken युच् by III. 3. 107.

Thus चिन्ता 'thought'; पूजा 'worship'; कथा 'narration'; कुम्भा 'a covering', 'a thick petticoat'; चर्चा 'recitation'.

When the affix is युच्, the forms are चिन्तना &c. (VII. 1. 1).

आतश्चोपसर्गे ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, च, उपसर्गे, (स्त्रियां, अङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आकारान्तेभ्य उपसर्गे उपपदे स्त्रियामङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ अन्तरोपसर्गवृत्तिः ॥

106. The affix 'ai' comes after those verbs which end in long 'â' when an upasarga is in composition, and when the word to be formed is feminine.

This supersedes क्तिन्. Thus प्रहा, प्रधा, उपहा, उपधा, &c.

Vart.—For the purposes of this rule the particles अत् and अन्तर् should be treated like upasargas. Thus अद्धा 'faith' अन्तर्द्धा (I. 4. 59).

ययासश्चन्यो युच् ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ शि-आस-अन्यः, युच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ष्यन्तेभ्यो धातुभ्य आसश्चन्य इत्येताभ्यां च स्त्रियां युच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ पद्विवर्तिविक्रिय उपसङ्ख्यानम् ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इषेरनिष्ठार्थस्य युज्ज्वल्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ परेर्वा ॥

107. After verbs ending in 'ni', and after 'âs' (to sit) and 'śrānth' (to loose), there is the affix 'yuch' when the word to be formed is feminine.

This excludes the affix अ (III. 1. 102). Thus कृ + णिच् = कारि; कारि + युच् = कारणा (the इ is elided by VI. 4. 53) 'the causing to do'; हारणा 'the causing to

take'; आसना 'the sitting'; श्रन्थना 'the loosening'. How do we get the form आसया? It is the feminine of आस्य formed by adding ण्यत् to the root आस् by III. 1. 124. Is not that rule made non-applicable by rule III. 1. 94, which declares that वासक्य rule does not apply to Feminine affixes? Yes, that is, however, not total exclusion. The phrase अस्त्रियाम् in III. 1. 94 is to be interpreted thus:—"Non-uniform affixes prohibit each other, when they belong to the class of affixes especially ordained for the feminine nouns; such as the affix क्तिन् (III. 3. 9), क्यप् (III. 3. 98), अ (III. 3. 102). That is to say, an utasarga-feminine affix will be always superseded by an apavāda-feminine affix; but a feminine affix in general will not supersede another affix which is not enjoined in the feminine gender especially. In other words, feminine affixes *inter se* supersede each other totally, but not so with regard to general क्त् affixes". Now by the present sūtra the root आस् takes युच्; this totally excludes other feminine affixes like अ (III. 1. 102); but it does not exclude the non-feminine affix ण्यत् ।

The root श्रन्थि taken here belongs to the *Kryādi* class, meaning 'to loosen' and is not the श्रन्थु of Churādi class, for the latter would be included, as a matter of course, by belonging to the Churādi class which class of verbs take the affix णिच् ।

Vart.—The verbs घट् 'to move', वन्द 'to praise', and विद् 'to feel', should also be enumerated, as taking युच्. Thus घट्ना 'shaking', वन्दना 'praising', वेदना 'knowledge, feeling, pain'. The verb घट् here belongs to the Tudādi class, and means 'to move' and not घट् of the Churādi class, for that is already included by being णिजन्त ।

Vart.—The affix युच् comes after इष् when it does not mean 'to desire'. Thus अन्वेषणा 'solicitation'; अन्वेषणा 'the searching after'.

Vart.—So also optionally when इष् takes the upasarga परि; as, पर्वेषणा or परीष्टि: 'investigation by reasoning'.

रोगाख्यायां शुक्लबहुलम् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ रोग-आख्यायाम्, शुक्लं, बहुलम् (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ रोगाख्यायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्बहुलं ण्यत्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ धात्वर्थनिर्देशे ण्युल्लङ्घ्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकृष्टिपो धातुनिर्देशे इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ षष्ठात्कारः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ राक्षिः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ मत्व्याच्छः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इमजादिभ्यः ॥

वार्त्तिकम् ॥ इकृष्ट्यादिभ्यः ॥

108. The affix 'nvul' comes diversely after verbs when the word to be formed is a feminine noun, begin the name of 'diseases'

This debars *क्तिन्* and all the rest. By using the word *आख्या* in the sūtra it is meant that the word so formed by this affix should be the appellation of the disease. The word 'diversely' shows the usual licence in the application of all the rules of grammar. 'Thus *प्रच्छर्दिका* (VII. 1. 1) 'vomiting'; *प्रवाहिका* 'diarrhoea'; *विचर्चिका* 'itch, scab'. Sometimes this affix does not apply; as *शिरोर्धिः* 'head-ache'.

Vart.—The affix *nvul* is employed also in simply pointing out the meaning of the roots; thus, *आशिका* 'to enjoy', *शायिका* 'to lie down' &c.

Vart.—The affixes *इक्* and *रित्* (that is *श्प्* and *त्*) are also employed in merely pointing out the roots; as *भितिः*, *छितिः*, *पचतिः*, *पठतिः* &c. The constant use of these affixes is to be found in these very sūtras. In the aphorisms the roots are exhibited in various ways; thus in sūtra 49 of this chapter we have the root *अ* and *य* exhibited as *अयतिः* and *यैतिः*. These latter forms indicating nothing more than the simple roots. So also, see VIII. 4. 17; VI. 4. 49.

Vart.—The affix *कार* is employed in merely pointing out letters; as *ककारः* means 'the letter क'; so also *अकारः* 'the letter अ'; *इकारः* 'the letter इ'.

Vart.—The affix *इत्* is employed in pointing out the letter *र*; as *रेफः*.

Vart.—The affix *छ* comes after the word *मत्वर्थ* in merely pointing it out, and there is elision of the final *अ*; as *मत्वर्थ्यः*.

Vart.—The affix *इञ्* comes after the verbs *अञ्* &c; as *आजिः*, *आतिः*, *आदिः*.

Vart.—The affix *इक्* comes after the verbs *कुप्* &c; as, *कुषिः*, *किरिः*, &c.

संज्ञायाम् ॥ १०९ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (शुक्ल, स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायां विषये धातोर्णुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

109. The affix '*nvul*' comes after the verbal roots, when the word to be formed is an appellative.

As *उद्दालकपुष्पमञ्जिका* 'a sort of game played by the people in the eastern districts in which *uddālaka* flowers are broken or crushed'. *वरणपुष्प-प्रवाहिका* 'a sort of game'; *आभ्युषखादिका*; *आचोपखादिका*; *शालमञ्जिका*; *तालमञ्जिका*.

**विभाषस्थ्यानेपरिप्रश्नयोरिञ् च ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, आ-
स्थान-परिप्रश्नयोः, इञ्, च, (शुक्ल, स्त्रियां) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ परिप्रश्ने आख्याने च गम्यमाने धातोरिञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

110. And the affix '*in*' comes optionally after a root, when a question and answer is expressed, (as well as '*nvul*' and other affixes ordained by other rules).

The word *परिप्रश्न* means 'question' and *आख्यान* means 'answer'; in the sūtra, in making the compound of these words, the logical sequence is not observed. The compound *आख्यानपरिप्रश्नम्* may, however, be justified on the ground that in a Compound a word consisting of smaller number of syllables should stand (II. 2. 34,) and hence *ākhyāna* is put first.

The force of च is to draw the anuvṛitti of the word ण्वुच् from the last into this. By the word 'optionally', it is meant that those affixes which would otherwise present themselves from the subsequent rules, should also be applied; thus: Q.—कां स्व कारिणकार्षीः 'What work did you do?' A.—सर्वो कारिणकार्षम् 'I did all work'. Optionally we may have instead of कारि the following also. Q.—कां कारिकां, कुर्यां, कृतिं, क्रियां, भकार्षीः A.—सर्वो कारिकां or कुर्यां or कृतिं or क्रियां भकार्षम्। Similarly, Q.—कां गणिं (गणनां, गणिकां &c.) अजीगणः A.—सर्वोगणिं &c. अजीगणम्. So also कां याजिम् or याजिकाम्; कां याजिम् or याजिकां &c.

Why do we say 'in question and answer? Observe कृतिः and हतिः।

पर्यायार्हणोत्पत्तिषु ण्वुच् ॥१११॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याय-अर्ह-ऋण-उत्पत्तिषु, ण्वुच्, (स्त्रियाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ एतेष्वर्थेषु धातोऽण्वुच्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

111. The affix 'nvuch' comes optionally after a root in the sense of succession, merit, debt or production.

The word पर्याय means turn or order of succession; अर्ह means worthy of respect; ऋण means debt owed to another; and उत्पत्ति means birth or production. This rule supersedes क्तिन् and other affixes. Thus: (1) भवतः शयिका 'your turn of sleeping'; भवतोऽग्रमासिका 'your turn of eating first'. (2) अर्हति भवानिष्टभक्षिकाम् 'you deserve to have a meal of sugar and molasses'. (3) इक्षुभक्षिकां मे धारयसि 'thou owest me a meal of sugar and molasses'; ओदनभोजिकां 'a meal of rice'; पयःपायिकां 'a drink of milk'. (4) इक्षुभक्षिका मे उत्पादि।

The word 'optionally' is understood in this sūtra also; as चिक्रीषोत्पद्यते।

The forms given by ण्वुच् and ण्वुच् are the same, the difference is only in the accent. (VI. I. 193, and VI. I. 163).

आक्रोशे नश्यनिः ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आक्रोशे, नञि, अनिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आक्रोशे गम्यमाने नश्युपपदे धातोर्नञिःप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

112. The affix 'ani' comes after a verb when the particle 'nañ' is in composition with it, and the sense implied is that of cursing.

The anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally' does not extend to this aphorism. The word आक्रोश means to curse. This supersedes the affixes क्तिन् &c. Thus अकरणस्ते वृषज भूयात् 'may failure be to thee, O sinner!' तस्याकरणिरेवास्तु 'may he be disappointed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning to curse'? Observe अकृतिस्तस्य कटस्य 'the non-making of his mat'.

Why do we say 'when नश्च is in composition? Observe वृतिस्ते वृषज भूयात् 'may death be to thee, O sinner!'

कृत्यस्युदो बहुलम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य, लुटः, बहुलम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ 'कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया ल्युट् च बहुलमर्थेषु भवन्ति ॥

113. The affixes called 'kritya' (III. 1. 95) and the affix 'lyut', are diversely applicable and have other senses than those taught before.

The anuvritti of the phrases 'when denoting action' and 'when the relation of the word formed to its parent verb is not that of an agent', which began with sūtras IH. 3. 18 and 19, does not extend to this sūtra or further. By saying 'diversely' we mean that they occur in other places than those where ordained by the rules. Thus the *kritya* affixes are ordained to come when 'act' or 'object' is to be expressed, but they come also when the *kāraka* is other than the objective. Thus स्नानीयं चूर्णम् 'powder for bathing'; दानीयो ब्राह्मणः 'a Brāhmaṇa to whom a donation is to be made'. In the first of these examples the 'powder' is the 'instrument' expressible by the 3rd. case, and in the second the 'Brāhmaṇa' is the recipient expressible by the fourth case; so that in both cases the affix is applied without any express rule.

Similarly, ल्युट् is ordained to come in denoting instrument, location, and a verbal noun (III. 3. 115 and 117). But it is applied in other senses also. Thus राजभोजनाः शालयः 'halls for the eating of kings'; राजाच्छासनानि वासांसि 'dresses to be worn by the 'king'.

By using the word 'diversely', even the *krit* affixes are applied in places other than those expressly ordained. Thus पादाभ्याम् ह्रियते = पादहारकः । गले चोपयते = गलेचोपकः । For accent see VI. 2. 150.

नपुंसके भावे क्तः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ नपुंसके, भावे, क्तः, (धातोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोः क्तः प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

114. The affix 'kta' is added to the root, when action is expressed, the word being in the neuter gender.

These are neuter abstract nouns: thus, हसितम् 'laugh'; जलितम् 'speech'; शयितम् 'sleeping'. So also गतं, सहितं &c.

ल्युट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ ल्युट्, च, (नपुंसके, भावे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नपुंसकलिङ्गे भावे धातोर्ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

115. The affix 'lyut' is added to the root, when the name of an action is expressed, in the neuter gender.

Thus हसनं छात्रस्य 'the laughter of the student'; शोभनं 'beauty'; जल्पनं 'speech'; शयनं 'sleep'; आसनम् 'seat'.

The separation of this sūtra from the last, in which it might well have been included, is for the sake of the subsequent aphorisms, in which the anuvritti of *lyut* only runs, and not that of क्त ।

कर्मेणि च येन संप्रशोत् कर्तुः शरीरसुखम् ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥

कर्मणि, च, येन, संरपशात्, कर्तुः, शरीर-सुखम् (नपुंसके, भावे, ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ येन कर्मणा संस्पर्शमानस्य कर्तुःशरीरसुखमुत्पद्यते तस्मिन्कर्मण्युपपत्तौ भवति ॥
सकलिंगे भावे ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

116. The affix '*lyut*' is added to a root, when the name of an action is expressed in the neuter gender; provided that the verb has in construction with it, such a word in the accusative case, as indicates the thing, from the contact with which, there arises a pleasant sensation corporally to the agent.

This sūtra is thus translated by Bohtlingk:—"The affix *lyut* comes in connection with an object, when through the contact with that, the agent of the action feels a lively pleasure". Though the affix *lyut* would have presented itself by the last aphorism, under the circumstances mentioned in this sūtra, the framing of this sūtra, is really for the purpose of teaching, that the compound so formed is a *निरय* or invariable compound *i. e.* a compound which cannot be analysed into its component members:—for every *उपपद* compound is a *निरय* compound. (II. 2. 19) Thus *पयः पानं सुखं* 'the pleasure of drinking milk'; *भोजनं भोजनं सुखं* 'the pleasure of eating rice'.

Why do we say 'when the word in construction is in the accusative case'? Observe *तूजिकाया उत्थानं सुखं* 'rising from a bed of down is pleasant'. Here there is no compounding as the *upapada* *तूजिका* is in the ablative case.

Why do we say 'from the contact'? Observe *अग्निकुंडस्थोपासनं सुखं* 'it is pleasure to sit near by a fire-hearth'. Here there being no contact between 'fire' and 'body', there is no compounding.

Why do we say 'to the agent'? Observe *गुरोः स्नापनं सुखं* 'to the teacher it is pleasure, when he is made to bathe'. Here the word *गुरुः* is not the agent, but the object of the verb *स्नापयति*.

Why do we say 'corporally'? Observe *पुत्रस्य परिब्रज्जनं सुखम्* 'embracing of the son is a pleasure'. Here the pleasure is a mere mental satisfaction and not a physical one.

Why do we say 'a pleasant sensation'? Observe *कंटकानां मर्दनं दुःखम्* 'it is painful to rub thorns'. In all the above counter-examples there is no compounding; see II. 2. 19 and the connected sūtras:

करणाधिकरणयोश्च ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ करण-अधिकरणयोः, च,

(ल्युट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करणेऽधिकरणे च कारके धातौ ल्युट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

117. The affix '*lyut*' comes after a root, when

the relation of the word to be formed to the verb is that of an instrument or location.

Thus **हृमप्रवृत्तः** 'an 'axe' (lit. an instrument for cutting wood); **पलाशाशतः** 'palāsa-cutter'; **गोदोहनी** 'a milk-pail' (a vessel into which milk is milked); so also **सक्तुधानी**. In other words, this affix expresses also the idea of the instrumental case (a tool), and of the locative case (a repository).

पुंसि-संज्ञायां घः प्रायेण ॥ ११८ ॥ पदानि ॥ पुंसि, संज्ञायाम्, घः, प्रायेण, (करणाधिकरणयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पुंसिङ्गयोः करणाधिकरणयोरभिधेययोर्धातोर्धः प्रत्ययो भवति समुदायेन चेत् संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

118. The affix 'gha' generally comes in the sense of an instrument or location after a root, when the word to be formed is a name and is in the masculine gender.

The force of the word **प्रायेण** 'generally' is to show that this rule is not a universal rule. Thus **दन्तच्छदः** 'the lip'. **छादि** 'to cover' + घ(VI. 4. 96) = **छदः** lit. 'that by which the teeth are covered'; so also **उरच्छदः** 'a breast plate'; **घटः**. These denote instruments.

So also in denoting 'location'. Thus **आ+कु+घ=आकरः** 'a mine', so named because men work (*akurvanti*) in it, **आलयः** 'a house' that in which men settle down.

Why do we say 'in the masculine gender'? Observe **प्रसाधनम्** 'a comb'; (lit. that by which men decorate). Here the affix is *lyut*.

Why do we say 'when the complete word so formed is merely an appellative'? Observe **प्रहरणो दण्डः** 'the beating stick'.

The indicatory **च्** is merely qualifying; for the application of sūtra VI. 4. 96. by which after the causative **छादि**, when घ is added, the long **आ** is shortened.

गोचरसंचरवहं व्रजव्यजापणनिगमाश्च ॥ ११९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गोचर-संचर-वह-व्रज-व्यज-आपण-निगमाः, च (घः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गोचरादयः शब्दा यप्रत्ययान्ता निपात्यन्ते पूर्वस्मिन्नेवायें ॥

119. . And the words 'gochara', 'samichara', 'vaha' 'vraja', 'vyaja', 'āpāna' and 'nigama' are anomalous.

These words are irregularly formed by the affix घ with the same force as in the last aphorism. This is an *apavāda* or exception to rule III. 3. 121, by which after roots ending in consonants, the affix घम् is added. Thus **गोचरः** 'pasturage', (lit. that in which the cows graze); **संचरः** 'a passage', (lit. through which they move); **वहः** 'a vehicle' (lit. by which men are carried); **व्रजः** 'a cow-pen' (by which they go); **व्यजः** 'a fan' (by which they move the air); the anomaly

in this consists in not replacing the अन् of ग्येन् (वि+अन्) by the substitute वी as required by sūtra II. 4. 56; आपण 'a market' (lit. that in which men come and traffic); निगम: 'the Veda', 'a market' (that into which they enter).

The force of the word च in the aphorism is to include other words also, which have not been already mentioned. Thus कषः, निकषः 'a touch-stone' (lit. that on which they rub).

अवे तृस्त्रोर्धेञ् ॥ १२० ॥ पदानि ॥ अवे, तृ-स्त्रोः, घञ्, (करणाधि-
करणयोः संज्ञायाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव उपपत्तेरस्त्रोर्धेञ् धातोः करणाधिकरणयोः संज्ञायां घञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

120. The affix 'ghan' comes after the roots 'tri' (to cross) and 'stri' (to spread), when the upasarga 'ava' is in composition with them, and when the word so formed is an appellative related to the verb either as an instrument or as a location.

This supersedes घ । The ञ् is indicatory and causes the vriddhi of ऋ (VII. 2. 115) and is also for the sake of regulating the accent (VI. 1. 195, 197). The indicatory घ् is useful in the subsequent aphorism where it changes the palatals into gutturals. Thus अवतारः 'the descent (or incarnation of a diety); अवस्तारः 'a screen round a tent'.

How do we apply अवतार also in phrases like अवतारो नद्याः 'the descent of rivers', for here the word *avatāra* is not an appellative? This use is also allowed, because the anuvṛitti of the word प्राय is understood here also; so that these words *avatāra* &c. may be employed in senses other than appellative.

हलञ्च ॥ १२१ ॥ पदानि ॥ हलः, च, (पुंसि, संज्ञायां, करणाधि-
करणयोः, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हलन्ताद्वातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्धेञ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

121. And after a verb ending in a consonant, comes the affix 'ghan', (when the word to be formed is masculine, and related to the verb as an instrument or a location, and thereby the palatal is changed into a guttural).

The whole of the phrase within brackets is to be read into this sūtra from sūtra III. 3. 118. This excludes च. Thus लेखः 'a writing' (that in which something is inscribed); वेदः 'the Veda' (that by which all is known); वेषः 'dress' (that which is entered into); बन्धः 'obstruction'; मार्गः 'a way' (that on which they seek); अपामार्गः 'a plant' (that by which disease or the like is cleared away); रामः 'Rāma' (i. e. in which, the devout delight),

अध्यायन्यायोद्यावसंहाराधारावायाञ्च ॥ १२२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अध्याय-
न्याय-उद्याव-संहार-आधार-आवायाः, च ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ 'अध्यायादयः शब्दा घञन्ता निपात्यन्ते ॥

122. And the words 'adhyāya', 'nyāya', 'udyāva', 'sānhāra', 'ādhāra' and 'āvāya' are anomalous.

These words are formed by adding the affix घञ् to the exclusion of च which would have come by rule III. 3/118. All these words are derived from roots which end in vowels. Thus अधि+इ+घञ्=अध्यायः 'a chapter or book' (lit. that in which they read); नी+न्यायः 'logic, justice', (lit. that by which men are lead); उत्+यु—उद्यावः 'mixture' (lit. that in which they blend); संह—संहारः 'destruction' (lit. by which they are destroyed); आ+धृ—आधारः 'support' (lit. in which anything is held); आ+वि—आवायः=आवयन्ति अस्मिन् ।

The force of च is to include others not enumerated above; as, अवहारः ।

उदङ्कोज्जुदके ॥ १२३ ॥ पदानि ॥ उदङ्कः, अनुदके ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उदङ्क इति निपात्यते अनुदक विषयश्चेद् धात्वर्थो भवति ॥

123. The word 'udaṅka' is anomalous, when the sense of the root refers to subjects other than 'water'.

The word is thus formed: उत्+अञ्च+घञ्=उदङ्कः 'a vessel'.

Would not the affix घञ् have come by sūtra III. 3. 121, why then this aphorism? This is made a separate aphorism in order to prohibit the application of the affix, where the word to be formed means 'water'.

Thus तैल्लोदङ्कः 'a leathern vessel for oil'.

Why do we say 'when not referring to 'water'? Observe उदकोदञ्चनः 'a bucket for drawing water' (उद्+अञ्च+ल्युट्).

Why do not we give the counter-example by adding the affix च to the root उदञ्च? Because the form evolved by applying च, would be the same in every respect as that evolved by घञ्; even the accent would be the same. For by sūtra VI. 2. 144, the udātta accent, in the case of घञ्, will fall on the final

जालमानायः ॥ १२४ ॥ पदानि ॥ जालम्, आनायः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आनाय इति निपात्यते जालं चेत्तद्वति ॥

124. The word 'ānāya' is irregularly formed when meaning 'a net'.

The word is thus formed in the sense of instrument. आ+नी+घञ्=आनायः 'a net' (by which they are caught); as आनायो मत्स्यानां 'a net for fish'; आनायो शृगाणाम् 'a net for wild deer &c'.

खनो घ च ॥ १२५ ॥ पदानि ॥ खनः, च, च, (करणाधिकरणे, घञ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ खनतेर्जातोः करणाधिकरणयोर्घः प्रत्ययो भवति, चकाराद् घञ् च ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ डी वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ उरो वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ ईको वक्तव्यः ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ इकषको वक्तव्यः ॥

125. The affix 'gha' as well as 'ghañ' comes after the verb 'khan' (to dig), (when the word to be formed is an appellative related to the verb as instrument or location).

The affix खन् has been read into the sūtra by force of the word च । Thus भाखान् or भाखनः 'a spade, a hoe'.

Vart.—The affix ड also comes in this sense after the verb खन्. Thus भाखन् + ड = भाखः 'a spade'. The indicatory इ showing that the final portion called टि should be elided.

Vart.—The affix डर also comes in the same sense; as भाखरः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So also the affix इक्; as भाखनिकः 'a spade'.

Vart.—So too the affix इकषक as भाखनिकषकः 'a spade'.

ईषद्दुःसुषु, कृच्छाकृच्छार्थेषु खल् ॥ १२६ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सुषु, कृच्छ-अकृच्छ-अर्थेषु, खल् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषत्-दुस्-सु इत्येतेषूपपदेषु कृच्छाकृच्छार्थेषु धातोः खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

126. In the sense of 'hard and difficult' or 'light and easy', the affix 'khal' is added to a verb, when 'ishad', and 'dur' and 'su' are combined with it as upapadas.

The anuvṛtti of the phrase 'when related as instrument or location' ceases with this aphorism. The word कृच्छ means heavy, and दुर् has the force of conveying that sense. The word अकृच्छ means 'light, easy'; and the words इषत् and सु convey that sense. Thus ईषत्करो भवता कटः 'a mat is made easily by you'; so also दुष्करः 'made with difficulty'; सुकरः 'made with ease'. Similarly ईषद्भोजः 'eating pleasantly'; दुर्भोजः and सुभोजः ।

Why do we say 'after ईषत् &c. ? See कृच्छेण कार्यः कटः 'the mat which is made with difficulty'.

Why do we say 'when meaning 'hard or light' ? Observe ईषत्कार्ये 'a small work'.

Of the affix खन्, the letter ख and न् are indicatory; ख causing the insertion of a nasal (technically called मुम् augment, VI. 3. 67) ; and न् regulates the accent (VI. 1. 196). The augment मुम् will be added in the subsequent sūtra, the ख thus having no work in this sūtra.

कर्तृकर्मणोश्च भूकृजोः ॥ १२७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कत्-कर्मणो, च, भू-कृजोः, (ईषद्-दुः-सुषु, खल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भवतेः कर्तात्वे धातोर्वधासंख्ये कर्तरि कर्मणि चोपपदे चर्कालदीपवादेषु च खल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कर्तृकर्मणोश्चयर्थोऽस्ति वक्तव्यम् ॥

127. The affix 'khal' comes after the verbs 'bhû' and 'kri', when the upapadas in composition with them are 'agent' and 'object' respectively, preceded by the words 'ishad' &c. in combination with them, meaning 'hard or light'.

Thus ईषदाद्य भव 'being enriched easily'; दुराद्वं भवम् 'to be enriched with difficulty'; स्वाद्यकरो देवदत्तो भवता 'Devadatta can be made rich by you easily'.

Vart.—It should be stated that the agent and object in composition should be, as if they ended in the affix चि (V. 4. 50). Compare III. 2. 56 and III. 2. 57. &c. Therefore we do not have it here : स्वाद्येन भूयते or भाद्येन सुभूयते ॥

आतो युच् ॥ १२८ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, युच्, (ईषद्दुःसुषु, कच्छा-
कच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कच्छाकच्छार्थेषु ईषदादिपदेषु भाकारान्तोऽध्यातुभ्यो युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

128. The affix 'yuch' comes after roots ending in long 'â', (when 'ishad', 'dur' and 'su' are combined as upapadas, in the sense of easily or with difficulty).

The word ईषद् &c. are to be read into this sūtra, not so the words कर्तृ-
कर्मण &c. This supersedes the affix खन्. Thus इषत्पानः सोमो भवता 'the soma juice can be lightly drunk by you'; दुष्पानः 'difficult to be drunk'; सुपानः 'easy to be drunk'. इषद्दानो गौर्भवता 'the cow can be given with ease by you'; दुर्दानः, सुदानः &c.

• छन्दसि गत्यर्थेभ्यः ॥ १२९ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, गति-अर्थेभ्यः,
(ईषद्दुःसुषु, कच्छाकच्छार्थेषु, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईषदादिषु कच्छाकच्छार्थेषूपपदेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये युच् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

129. The affix 'yuch' comes in the Chhandas, after roots having the sense of 'to go', when the word 'ishad' &c. meaning 'lightly' or 'with difficulty' are in composition with such verbs.

This debars the affix खन्. Thus सूपसद्गोऽग्निः । सूपसद्गमन्तरिक्षम् । See T.S. 7. 5. 20. I.

अन्येभ्योऽपि दृश्यते ॥ १३० ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्येभ्यः, अपि, दृश्यते,
(गत्यर्थेभ्यः, युच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्येभ्योऽपि धातुभ्यो गत्यर्थेभ्यश्छन्दसि विषयेषु युच् प्रत्ययो दृश्यते ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ भाषायां शासिद्युधिदृशिधृदिनृषिभ्यो युच् वक्तव्यः ॥

130. The affix 'yuch' is seen to come in the Vedas, after other verbs also, than those meaning 'to go'.

Thus सुवेद नाम कृणोद् ब्रह्मणे गां ; so also सुवेद नाम कृणोद् ब्रह्मणे गां ॥ (Rig. Veda. X. 112. 8).

Vart.—In the modern Sanskrit, the affix 'yuck' comes after the verbs शास्, युष्, दृग्, धृष्, and मृष्; as दुःशासनः 'Duhsāsana'; दुरोधनः 'Duryodhana'; दुर्गन्तः, दुर्द्वर्षणः and दुर्मर्षणः ।

वर्तमानसामीप्ये वर्तमानवद्वा ॥ १३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्तमान-
सामीप्ये, वर्तमान-वत्, 'वा, (भूते, भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ वर्तमानसमीपे भूते भविष्यति च वर्तमानाद्वातोर्वर्तमानवत्पश्यया वा भवन्ति ॥

131. The affixes which are employed when the sense is that of present time, may, optionally in like manner, be employed when the sense is that of past or future time not remote from the present.

The words समीप and सामीप्य are the words with the same signification, the latter being derived from the first by adding the affix इयङ्. This affix is added with a self-descriptive force, without making any modification in the meaning. We learn thus incidentally from Pāṇini's using the word सामीप्य, that the affix इयङ् also comes with a self-descriptive (svārtha) force, and the words आतुर्वन्थः &c. are thus formed.

The affixes which begin with sūtra III. 2. 123 (वर्तमाने जङ्) and end with III. 3. 1 (उणादय बहुलं,) are affixes which come in denoting the present time. These affixes come also with the force of the past or future time, when the sense is that the action has just taken place, or will immediately take place. Thus, to the question कदा देवदत्ताऽगतोसि 'when didst thou come Devadatta', it may, be replied, either अयमागच्छामि 'I come now', or आगच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि 'know me even to have come'; or अयमागमम् 'I have now come'; or एषोऽस्यागतः 'I have come now'. So also to the question कदा देवदत्तं गमिष्यसि 'when will you go Devadatta', it may be replied, either एष गच्छामि 'I go now' or गच्छन्तमेव मां विद्धि or एष गमिष्यामि or गन्ताह्मि &c.

The phrase 'in like manner' (वत्) has been employed to indicate complete resemblance; that is to say, with whatever qualifications, the affixes have been enjoined to denote present time, namely, with whatever bases (प्रकृति), and words in compositions (उपपद्), and restrictive significations (उपाधि), certain affixes have been enjoined;—the same affixes under those conditions and those circumstances, only will denote also immediate future and recent past. Thus गान् by rule III. 2. 128 comes after the prakritis पू and यङ् in forming present participles; this affix, to denote past and future, must come only after पू and यङ्, and so on. Thus पवमानः, यजमानः, भज्जकरिष्युः (III. 2. 136) &c.

Why do we say 'not remote from the present, (सामीप्ये)' ? This rule will not apply when distant future or distant past is intended to be expressed.

As पदम् अगच्छत् 'पाटलिपुत्रम्' 'he went day before yesterday to Pataliputra'; वषेण गमिष्यति 'he will go in a year'.

One may say that "the word गच्छामि can denote by itself nothing but the present tense, and it is because it occurs in a sentence in connection with other qualifying words, that it is made to denote any other time; and it is a well-known fact that a tense which a sentence as a whole may indicate, has no bearing on the question as to what tense a verb must take, when we are preparing it for taking a grammatical tense; and hence the present sūtra is superfluous". To such we reply that the present sūtra and those that follow are not meant for those who know the proper idioms of Sanskrit language; but for those only who do not know this.

Dr. Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—'Whatever is near to the present time, may be expressed as a present tense.

आशंसायां भूतवच्च ॥ १३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसायाम्, भूतवत्, च, (भविष्यति, वर्तमानवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्वा भूतवत् प्रत्यया भवन्ति चकाराद् वर्तमानवच्च ॥

132. The affixes which are employed, when the sense is that of the past time or of the present time, may, optionally, in like manner, be employed, after a root in denoting future time, when hope is expressed.

The word 'optionally' is understood here also. The phrase 'not remote from the present' is not valid in this aphorism. The word आशंसा means the wish or expectation of getting an object not yet obtained, and consequently this can refer only to future time. The force of च is to draw the word वर्तमानवत् from the last sūtra in this aphorism. This sūtra has been thus put by Mr. Apte:—"When hope is expressed in a conditional form, the Aorist (लृट्), the Present, or Simple Future is used in both the clauses to denote a future time. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेद्गमत् or आगतः, or आगच्छति or आगमिष्यति वा एते व्याकरणमध्यगीष्महि, or अधीतवन्तः or अधीमहे or अध्येष्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come, we should read grammar'.

This construction is possible only when the past tense is expressed by लृट् (Aorist); and not by लृङ् or लिट्. For लृट् denotes past time in general, while लृङ् and लिट् denote particular forms of past time; (see III. 2. 110, 111 and 115). The phrase भूतवत् making an analogy with time in general, will not therefore, refer to लिट्, or लृङ् which refer to past time in special.

Why say 'when hope is expressed'? Observe आगमिष्यति 'he will come'.

सिप्रवचने लृट् ॥ १३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ सिप्र-वचने, लृट्, (आशंसायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्षिप्रवचन उपपदे आशंसायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

133. When the word 'kshipra' (quickly) or its synonym is in construction with the verb, the future affix, 'Lrit' is employed after the root, when 'hope' is expressed in a conditional form.

This supersedes the last rule by which Aorist could also have been employed. By the present rule the Second Future can only be employed. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेत्क्षिप्रमागमिष्यति (or उपाध्यायश्चेदागतः—*Apte.*) क्षिप्रं व्याकरणमध्येश्यामहे 'if the teacher were to come soon, we shall soon learn grammar'.

By force of the word वचन in the aphorism, we take the synonyms of क्षिप्र also, such as शीघ्रं, आशु, त्वरितम्, &c.

An objector might say, "the use of the word लृट् in the sūtra is redundant; for Future tense is the natural tense to be used, whenever *hope* is indicated. Sūtra III. 3. 132 was merely an exception to this rule; so that the present sūtra re-enacting the general rule, ought to have been worded thus;— न क्षिप्रवचने 'not so when a word expressing quickness is employed'; for such a rule debaring the past tenses given by III. 3. 132, would have, of necessity, given scope to the Future tense which is the natural tense to express *hope*". To them we say, that there are two future tenses, लृट् and लृट् । By specifying लृट् we mean that लृट् should not be employed even where it would otherwise have come, such as in the following:—*अः क्षिप्रमध्येश्यामहे* 'to-morrow we shall learn soon'.

आशंसावचने लिङ् ॥ १३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशंसा-वचने, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशंसा येनोच्यते तदाशंसावचनं तस्मिन्नुपपदे धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

134. The affix of the Potential is employed in denoting Futurity, after a root, when the upapada in composition with it, is a word expressing 'hope'.

This is also an *aparāda* of rule III. 3. 132, and teaches the employment of the Potential with a future force. Thus उपाध्यायश्चेदागच्छेत्, आशंसे युक्तोऽधीयीय 'if the teacher will come, I hope, you will study with diligence'. This being a subsequent rule, will apply even when the words expressive of 'quickness' are in composition. Thus आशंसे क्षिप्रमधीयीय 'I hope, you will learn soon'. So also, अवकल्पये युक्तोऽधीयीय, &c.

नानद्यतनवत् क्रियाप्रबन्धसामीप्ययोः ॥ १३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, अनद्यतन-वत्, क्रिया-प्रबन्ध-सामीप्ययोः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति क्रियाप्रबन्धे सामीप्ये च गम्यमाने ॥

135. When constant continuance of action or a near Past or Future is meant, the Past and Future are not denoted as taught in III. 2. 111 and III. 3. 15, through

the Imperfect and the Second Future, but through the Aorist and the First Future.

The affixes लङ् (Imperfect Past) and लृट् (First Future), have been ordained to come, when past time not belonging to the current day, and future time not belonging to the current day, are respectively indicated. The present sūtra prohibits these two affixes. 'The word क्रियापबन्धः means 'performing an action with continuity'; and सामीप्य means 'not remoteness of time, immediateness, without the intervention of anything of the same genus'. Thus यावज्जीवं भृशमन्नं ददात् (not अददात्) 'he gave food throughout his life'; or भृशमन्नं ददति 'he will give much food'. यावज्जीवं पुत्रोऽध्यापित् 'throughout his life he taught', or यावज्जीवं अध्यापिष्यति 'throughout his life he will teach'. In both these cases the Aorist and the Second Future are used instead of the Imperfect and the First Future.

So also when recent past or immediate future is meant, the Aorist and the Second Future are employed, instead of the Imperfect and the First Future. Thus येन पूर्णमास्यतिक्रान्ता, एतस्यामुषाध्यायोग्नीनाधित or सोमेनायुष्ट or गामदित 'during the full-moon that has just past, the teacher consecrated the fire, or performed the soma-sacrifice or gave a cow'. Here the Aorist is for the Imperfect. येन नवमास्याऽगमिनी, एतस्यामुषाध्यायोग्नीनाधायते or सोमेन यज्यते, or स गौं ददति 'on the next new-moon day, the teacher will perform the fire-sacrifice or the soma-sacrifice, or he will give a cow'. Here the Second Future is employed instead of the First Future.

The double negative न अनद्यतन 'not non-today' implies the proper corresponding tenses which indicate adyatana.

• भविष्यति मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् ॥ १३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, (नानद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भविष्यति काले मर्यादावचनेऽवरस्मिन् प्रविभागेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति ॥

136. The Futurity is not expressed, as taught in III. 3. 15, through the Second Future, but through the First Future, when a statement is made of a limit on this (avara) side of another place.

The phrase नानद्यतनवत् is valid in this sūtra also. The two conditions of the last aphorism, namely, 'continuity of action' and 'immediateness', however, do not apply here. Thus कोशाम्ब्यास्ततोऽहं भोज्यामहे, तत्र सक्तुं पास्यामः 'on this side of the road from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, there we will eat rice, and there we will drink saktu'.

Why do we say 'in denoting future time'? Observe कोशाम्ब्यास्ततोऽहं भोज्यामहे 'on [this side of the road that leads from the city of Kosāmbi to the city of Pātaliputra, we read together &c.

Why do we say 'when signifying limit'? Observe कोशाम्ब्यास्ततोऽहं

गन्तव्यस्तस्य यत्तु कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे, सक्तुन् पातास्मः । Here the First Future is employed.

Why do we say 'when the word अवर 'is in construction'? Observe योऽयमध्यागन्तव्य आपादन्तिपुत्रात् तस्य यत्परं कौशाम्ब्यास्तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे &c.

The examples of limit given in this aphorism, refer to local limit; in the subsequent sūtras examples will be given as to the limit of time and some difference will be observed therein.

कालविभागे चानहोरात्राणाम् ॥ १३७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-विभागे, च, न-अहः-रात्राणाम्, (भविष्यति, मर्यादावचने, अवरस्मिन्, च, अनद्यतनवत्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागे सत्यहरस्मिन्विभागे भविष्यति कालेऽनद्यतनवत् प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न वेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी विभागस्तेषां च विभागे प्रतिषेधः ॥

137. The Second Future is employed instead of the First Future, in denoting Future time not belonging to the current day, when the word 'avara' is used together with a word expressing division of time, but not when it is a word giving the sense of 'day' or 'night'.

The whole of the last sūtra should be read into this. The difference between this and the last sūtra is, that sūtra III. 3. 136 referred both to the limit of *space* and *time*, while sūtra III. 3. 137 refers to the limit of *time* only; moreover with regard to time, there is exception with regard to the portions of day and night. The *yoga-vibhāga*, the separation of this sūtra from the last, is for the sake of subsequent aphorisms. Thus योऽयं संवत्सर आगामी तत्र अवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येद्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year after next, we shall read together'; तत्रोदनं भोक्त्यामहे 'we shall eat rice then &c'.

This construction is, of course, only valid in denoting future time, otherwise not. Therefore not here: योऽयं वत्सरोऽन्तीतस्तस्य अवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येद्यामहे 'in the month of Chaitra, the year before-last, we read together'; तत्रोदनमभुञ्जमहे 'we ate together &c'.

Why do we say 'limit'? Observe योऽयं निरवधिकः काल आगामी तस्य अवरमाग्रहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येद्यामहे—तत्रोदनं भोक्तास्महे ।

The limit must be 'on this side i. e. अवर side'. With the पर side limit, this rule will not apply. With the word पर, this construction is optional. See the next sūtra.

Why do we say 'when not divisions of day and night'? There are three sorts of counter-examples in this case; as, योऽयं मास आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचश्रावः or योऽयं त्रिंशदात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरोऽर्द्धमासः or योऽयं त्रिंशदहोरात्र आगामी तस्य योऽवरः पंचदशरात्रस्तत्र युक्ता अभ्येद्यामहे तत्र सक्तुन् पातास्मः । Here, *Lat.* or *First Future* has been employed and not the Second Future.

परस्मिन् विभाषा ॥ १३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मिन्, विभाषा, (भ-
विष्यति, मर्यादावचने, कालविभागे, अनहोरात्राणाम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालमर्यादाविभागं सति भविष्यति काले परस्मिन् प्रविभागे विभाषाऽनघतमवत्
प्रत्ययविधिर्न भवति, न चेदहोरात्रसम्बन्धी प्रविभागः ॥

138. Optionally so, when a declaration is made with regard to that side of a limit of time,

The whole of the last aphorism must be read into this: The sūtra will then stand thus: "The Second and the First Futures are optionally both employed in denoting future time, not belonging to the current day, instead of the First Future alone, when the word पर is used signifying a limit of time on that side of a fixed period, provided that this word does not give the sense of day or night".

This rule allows an option when the time refers to the पर side of a starting limit. Thus योज्यं संवत्सर आगामी तस्य यत् परमामहायण्यास्तत्र युक्ता भव्येत्यामहे or भव्येत्यामहे 'we will read together in the month of Chaitra, the year after next'.

All the counter-examples given under the last aphorism, are also valid here by substituting the word पर instead of अवर.

19 लिङ् निमित्ते लृङ् क्रियातिपत्तौ ॥ १३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्-
निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रिया-अतिपत्तौ, (भविष्यति) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुहेतुमत्तेर्लिङ् इत्येवमादिकं लिङो निमित्तं, तत्र लिङ् निमित्ते भविष्यति काले
लृङ् प्रत्ययो भवति, क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्याम् ॥

139. Where there is a reason for affixing 'Lrin' the affix 'Lrin' is employed in the Future tense when the non-completion of the action is to be understood.

The words 'in denoting future time' are here. The reasons for affix लिङ् are such as cause and effect &c. mentioned in sūtra III. 3. 156 and 157 &c. The लृङ् is called the conditional tense. "It comes in the conditional sentences in which the non-performance of the action is implied; or where the falsity of the antecedent is implied as a matter of fact. It usually corresponds to the English Pluperfect Conditional, and must, in Sanskrit, be used in both the antecedent and the consequent clauses".—*Apte's Guide*.

Thus सुवृष्टिश्चेदभविष्यत् तदा सुभिक्षमभविष्यत् 'if there had been good rain, then there would have been plenty of food; or if there were to be good rain, then there would be plenty of food'. It is implied that there was not good rain, nor consequent plenty: or that the occurrence of good rain is dubious, and the desirable consequence equally so.

—So also here, दक्षिणेन चेष्टामास्यन्न शक्यं पर्याभविष्यत् 'if he were to go by the right side, the carriage would not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् भाहास्यन् न शक्यं

वर्धाभविष्यत् 'if he were to call Kamalaka (which he will not), the carriage would not be upset'; आभोक्ष्यत भवान् चृतेन यदि मत्समीपम् आगमिष्यत् 'you would eat food with clarified butter, if you (were to) come to me (but you will not come).

All these sentences refer to future time. The non-upsetting is a future contingency and is an effect the cause of which is the 'calling of Kamalaka. The speaker—having apprehended the cause and effect, and having also learned from other sources that such an effect will not take place, that is to say, that Kamalaka will not be called, and the carriage will be upset—has employed this conditional tense to express his idea. The whole sentence यदि कमलकम् &c. really gives this sense:—That both actions, 'the calling' and 'the non-upsetting', which are subjects of a future time, and which are related as cause and effect, will not be completed; that neither Kamalaka will be called, nor the impending fate averted from the carriage. The sūtra may also be thus rendered according to Professor Bohtlingk:—In a conditional sentence, which would require a Potential according to III. 3. 156, is used, if the sense is that of Future time, the Conditional Tense, when the action is not complete.

भूते च ॥ १४० ॥ पदानि ॥ भूते, च, (लिङ्निमित्ते, लृङ्, क्रियाति पत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भूते च काले लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ सत्त्वान् लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

140. And (where there is a reason for affixing 'Lin', the affix 'Lrin' is to be employed, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood) if the sense is that of past time.

The whole of the last aphorism is understood in this. The last sūtra enjoined लृङ् in the Future tense; this sūtra ordains it in the Past, the Conditional tense having both these significations. The reasons for affixing लिङ् are given in sūtras III. 3. 152 and those that follow it. In sūtra III. 3. 141 and those that follow, as far as III. 3. 152, optional rules for the employment of the Conditional tense will be given. Thus:—दृष्टो मया भवत्पुत्रोऽन्वार्थं चङ्क्रम्यमाणः भवत्पुत्रं द्विजो ब्राह्मणार्थं, यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत्, तदाऽभोक्ष्यत, न तु भुक्तवान्, अन्वयेन पथा स गतः 'I saw your son, wandering about in search of food, I saw also a twice-born in search of a Brāhmaṇa (whom he would feast); if he (your son) had been seen by him (the twice-born), then he would have been fed; but as a matter of fact, he has not been fed, he went by a different road'.

The conditional sentence यदि स तेन दृष्टोऽभविष्यत् तदाऽभोक्ष्यत is employed under circumstances set out above. It refers to a past time, there is the relation of cause and effect existing, one being in search of food, and another in search of a guest to feed; and the action is not completed; both taking different roads, did not come across each other.

जोताप्योः ॥ १४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, आ-उताप्योः, (भूते, लिङ्निमित्ते, क्रियातिपत्तौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उताप्योः समर्थयोरिति वक्ष्यति प्रागेतस्मान् सुभावधेर्देहित ऊर्ध्वमनुक्रमिष्यामः, तत्र भूते लिङ्निमित्ते क्रियातिपत्तौ लृङ् वा भवतीत्येतदधिकृतं वेदितव्यम् ॥

141. From this point as far as sūtra III. 3. 152 (the whole of the following sentence is to be taken as exerting a governing influence on the sūtras that follow: where there is a reason for affixing 'Liṅ', the 'Liṅ' may be) optionally (employed in denoting past time, when the non-completion of the action is to be understood).

All the words within brackets must be supplied from the previous sūtras to complete the sense. This sūtra consists of three words वा 'optionally', आ 'as far as' and उताप्योः (the sūtra III. 3. 152). The words वा+आ+उ form वी by the rules of conjunction. The particle आ in this aphorism has the force of limit exclusive and not that of limit inclusive. The *optional* use of the conditional tense will be illustrated in the following aphorisms, where, in addition to the special tenses to be employed by those rules, we may employ the conditional also under those very circumstances, in the alternative, provided that the non-completion of the action is understood. Prof. Bohtlingk translates this aphorism thus: "optionally so, in connection with वत and अपि, the conditional tense may be employed".

गर्हायां लङ्पिजात्वीः ॥ १४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायां, लट्, अपिजात्वीः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गर्हायां गम्यमानायाम् अपिजात्वीरुपपदयोर्धातौर्लट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

142. The affix 'Lat' is employed after a root, when it has in composition with it, the words 'api' or 'jātu', the sense implied by the sentence being that of 'censure'.

The word गर्हा means 'censure', 'blame'. The affix लट् has been enjoined to come with a present signification, and would not have come to denote time in general, which, however, it does here, for here the Present tense is employed in preference to the tense required by the time of the action, which is totally excluded. Hence the present sūtra.

Thus अपि तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयति 'even your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) to a Sūdra'; जातु तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयति गर्हामहे, अहो अन्वाच्यमेतत् 'possibly your honor sacrifices for a Sūdra'; the sense implied being that such conduct on the part of those men are blameworthy.

In the present case, there being no occasion for the application of लिङ्, of course, we cannot employ लृङ् to denote the non-completion of the action

So also भवि or जातु जायां त्यजति 'Fie! you abandon (or abandoned or will abandon) your wife!'

विभाषा कथमि लिङ् च ॥ १४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, कथमि, लिङ्, च, (गर्हायां, लट्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कथंशब्द उपपत्ते गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति, अकाराल्लट् च ॥

143. The affix 'Lin' as well as 'Lat' is optionally employed after a root, when the word 'katham' is in construction with it, and censure is implied.

The word 'censure' is understood, and by च we draw लट् from the previous sūtra into this. By using the word 'optionally' in the aphorism, it is indicated that this rule does not exclude the application of the alternative tenses which would otherwise have been required by the time of the action. It is not total exclusion like the last. Thus कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयति or याजयिष्यति 'Indeed, how your honor can (or will) sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

So also कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयिता, अयाजयत् or याजयांचकार ।

Here there is an occasion for the application of the Potential mood (लिङ्); therefore when we intend to express non-completion of action in the past time, we can *optionally* employ the Conditional also (लृङ्). As कथं नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजम् अयाजयिष्यत् or याजयेत् 'Indeed, why did your honor (attempt to), sacrifice for that Sūdra (in vain)'.

Under similar circumstances, in denoting future time, the Conditional (लृङ्) must *invariably* be employed (III. 3. 139); as, कथं धर्मम् अरयजिष्यः 'why will you (attempt to) give up your duty'.

किंवृत्ते लिङ्लृटौ ॥ १४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ किम्-वृत्ते, लिङ्-लृटौ, (गर्हायाम्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तउपपत्ते गर्हायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

144. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lrit' come after a verb, when the interrogative words like 'kim' &c, are in composition with it, and censure is implied.

Here also the Potential and the First Future are employed in preference to the time required by the action.

The word 'censure' is understood here; not so, however, the word 'optionally'. This excludes all other tense-affixes. The repetition of the word लिङ् in this sūtra, is for the sake of excluding लट्, whose anuvritti would also have run into this sūtra, had we taken the anuvritti of लिङ् from the last sūtra, instead of repeating it. Thus कः कतरो वा हरिं निन्देत्, निन्देयति वा 'who will censure Hari?'

In the Past tense, when the non-completion of action is implied, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्); and in the Future tense, under similar circumstances, we must employ the Conditional necessarily; as को नाम वृषजो यं तत्र भवानयाजयिष्यत् 'who is the Sûdra for whom your honor did sacrifice (in vain)'. This Sûtra may be rendered thus also:—"In connection with an Interrogative Pronoun, when censure is implied, may be employed the Potential or the First Future".

अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोरकिंवृत्तेऽपि ॥ १४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अनवकृप्ति-अ-मर्षयोः, अकिंवृत्ते, अपि, (किंवृत्ते, लिङ्लृटौ, योताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंवृत्तेऽकिंवृत्ते चोपपदेऽनवकृपत्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लिङ्लृटौ मत्वयो भवतः ॥

145. When it is to be expressed that some body holds that something is not likely to take place, or is not to be tolerated, the Potential and the First Future are employed, even without the Interrogative Pronoun.

The anuvritti of the word 'censure' ceases. The word अनवकृप्तिः means 'impossibility, not to be believed'. The word अमर्षः means 'not endurable or not to be tolerated'. This excludes all other tenses, the Potential and the 2nd. Future coming in preference to all other tenses required by the time of the action. In the Dvandva Compound अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोः, the word अनवकृप्ति ought to have stood as second member of the compound as it contains larger number of syllables than the word अमर्ष (II. 2. 14). The non-compliance with rule II. 2. 14. indicates that the rule of यथासंख्यं, (I. 3. 10) does not apply here, which would otherwise have applied—the sense of the sûtra then being 'that the Potential should be employed when the act is not likely to occur, and the 2nd. Future to be used when the act is not to be tolerated'. This is not, however, the interpretation which we should put upon the sûtra.

Thus नावकल्पयामि, न संभावयामि, न श्रद्धे, तत्र भवान् नाम वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I do not believe, or think it possible or trust that your honor sacrifices (or sacrificed or will sacrifice) for a Sûdra'. न मर्षयामि तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयेत् or याजयिष्यति 'I can not tolerate that your honor does (did or will) sacrifice for a Sûdra'. • •

When past time together with the non-completion of the action is to be expressed, we may optionally employ the Conditional (लृङ्), but necessarily so, when Future time is to be expressed. Thus नावकल्पयामि तत्र भवान् नाम वृषजम् अयाजयिष्यत् 'I do not believe that your honor did or will sacrifice for a Sûdra'.

किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् ॥ १४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ किंकिल-अस्त्यर्थेषु, लृट्, (अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोः, योताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ किंकिलास्त्यर्थेषु लृट् अनवकृपत्यमर्षयोर्धातोर्लृट् मत्वयो भवति ॥

146. The affix 'Lrit' (the First Future) is used after a root, when the words 'kimkila' or those having the sense of 'asti' (he is) are in construction with it, (when the action is not likely to occur, or is not to be tolerated).

The words within brackets must be supplied from the last aphorism. The whole word किकिल is to be taken as an upapada and not the word किं and किल separately. This word expresses anger. The words having the sense of *asti* are अस्ति, भवति and विद्यते । This rule supersedes the Potential (लिट्). Thus किकिल or अस्ति or भवति or विद्यते नाम तत्र भवान् वृषजं याजयिष्यति, न मर्षयामि, न श्रद्धये 'Is it possible that your honor will (or did or does) sacrifice for a Sûdra? I cannot believe or tolerate it'.

As there is no occasion for लिङ् here, we cannot have the Conditional (लृङ्) required by rule III. 3. 141.

Another example is न श्रद्धे न मर्षये वा किकिल त्वं शुद्राज्जम् भोक्ष्यसे 'I do not believe or can tolerate that thou shouldst eat the food of Sûdra'; अस्ति भवति विद्यते वा शूद्रां गमिष्यसि 'Is it possible that thou shouldst go to a female Sûdra'.

जातुयदोर्लिङ् ॥ १४७ ॥ पदानि ॥ जातु-यदोः, लिङ्, (अनवकृ-
पत्यमर्षयोः, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जातु यद्विद्येत योरुपपद्योरनवकृत्यमर्षयोगं न्यमानयोर्भातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ जातुयदोर्लिङ्विधाने यदाययोरुपसंख्यानम् ॥

147. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'jātu' and 'yat' being in construction with it, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or is not to be tolerated.

This excludes the First Future or 'Lrit'. जातु तत्र भवान् वृषजम् याजयेत्, or वनाम् तत्र भवान् वृषजम् याजयेत्, न श्रद्धे, न मर्षयामि ।

Vart.—The words यदा and यदि should be enumerated along with the words जातु and यत् in this rule. As यदा or यदि वा स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् वा कल्पयामि न मर्षयामि 'neither do I think, nor do I tolerate that one like you should blaspheme Hari'.

Here also when the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional (लृङ्) is necessarily employed in denoting future time, and optionally so in denoting past time. As जातु, यत्, यदा or यदि स्वादृशो हरिं निन्देत् or अनिन्दित्वम् नावकल्पयामि, न मर्षयामि वा 'neither do I believe, nor do I tolerate that one like you did attempt to blaspheme Hari'. यदि सुरभिर्मवाप्यस्तन्मुखोच्छ्वासगन्धम् तदा रतिरभविष्यत् पुण्डरीके किकिलिष्यत् 'if you had felt (which you clearly have not) the fragrant smell of her breath, would you have had any liking for this lotus?'

यच्चयत्रयोः ॥ १४८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यच्च-यत्रयोः, (अनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोः, लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोरनवकृप्त्यमर्षयोगम्यमानयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

148. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' being in construction, when the sense is that the action is not believed to be likely, or not to be tolerated.

This supersedes the First Future. The separation of this aphorism from the previous one, is for the sake of the rules that follow. The rule I. 3. 10 does not also apply here. Thus यच्च यत्र वा स्वयेवं कुर्याः न श्रद्धे, न मर्षयामि 'I do not think, nor can I tolerate that thou wilt do so'.

The Conditional (लृट्) will also be employed under its own proper conditions as shown in the last aphorism.

गर्हायां च ॥ १४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ गर्हायाम्, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्र इत्येतयोरुपपदयोर्धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति गर्हायाम् गम्यमानायाम् ॥

149. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root in all tenses when the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' are in composition with it, provided that censure is implied.

The governing force of the words *anavaklipti* and *amarsha* ceases. This debars all other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् ऋद्धौ वृद्धः सन् ब्राह्मणः, गर्हामहे, भहो भन्वाच्यमेतत् 'we blame you who being an opulent, old Brāhmaṇa (who ought to know better) officiate as a sacrificial priest for a Sūdra, O ! It is improper' !

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional tense must be employed under the rules given in III. 3. 139-140-141. As यच्च or यत्र एवं हरिं निन्देः or अग्निन्दिष्यः, गर्हामहे 'we censure that you should (have attempted to) blaspheme Hari', &c.

चित्रीकरणे च ॥ १५० ॥ पदानि ॥ चित्रीकरणे, च, (यच्चयत्रयोः, लिङ्, वोताप्योः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्चयत्रयोः उपपदयोश्चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

150. The affix 'Lin' comes in all tenses after a root, when used with the words 'yachcha' and 'yatra' and the sense implied is that of 'wonder'.

The word चित्रीकरणं means 'wonder, astonishment, strangeness &c'. This debars all the other tense-affixes. Thus यच्च or यत्र तत्र भवान् वृषलं याजयेत् आश्चर्यमेतत् 'this is a wonder that you should sacrifice for a Sūdra'.

When the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional is employed under the rules III. 3. 139, 140 and 141. Thus आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं याजये or अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (have attempted to) perform a sacrifice for a Śūdra'; आश्चर्यमेतत् यच्च or यत्र त्वं शूद्रं अयाजयिष्यः 'it is a wonder that you should (hereafter attempt to) make a Śūdra perform a sacrifice.

शेषे लृङ्यदौ ॥ १५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ शेषे, लृट्, अयदौ, (चित्रीकरणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शेषे उपपत्तेः चित्रीकरणे गम्यमाने धातोर्लृङ्प्रत्ययो भवति यदि शब्दश्चेत् प्रयुज्यते ॥

151. In all other cases, when wonder is implied by other words than 'yachcha' and 'yatra', the affix 'Lrit' is employed after a root, except when the word 'yadi' is used.

In all other cases, that is to say, in cases where the words यच्च or यत्र are not employed, as well as where the word यदि is not used, the First Future is used in preference to the Potential.

Thus आश्चर्यं, चित्रं, अद्भुतम् अन्धो नाम पर्वतमारोहयति, बध्निरो नाम व्याकरणम् अध्ययन्ति 'it is wonderful, strange and astonishing that the blind man should ascend a mountain, or a deaf person should read grammar'.

Not so, when the word यदि is employed. Thus आश्चर्यं यदि सोऽधीयीत 'a wonder, if he study'. आश्चर्यं यदि स भुञ्जते 'a wonder, if he eat'.

As there is, in this case, no occasion to employ the Potential, we cannot employ the Conditional as directed in sūtras III. 3. 139, 140 and 141.

उताप्योः समर्थयोर्लिङ् ॥ १५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ उत-अप्योः, समर्थयोः,

लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उत अपि इत्येतयोः समर्थयोर्दानोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

152. The affix 'Lin' comes after a verb in all tenses, when the words 'uta' and 'api', both having the same meaning, are in composition.

This excludes all the other tense-affixes. The meaning which is common both to उत and अपि is that of वादन् 'assuredly, certainly, surely, really'. Thus उत कुर्यात् 'certainly he does'; अपि कुर्यात् 'assuredly he does'; उताधीयीत 'certainly he studies (will study &c)'; अप्यधीयीत 'surely he studies &c'.

Why do we say 'when they mean certainly'? Observe उत इदं पतिस्यति 'will the stick fall'? अपि द्वारं धास्यति 'he shuts the door'. Here उत is employed in asking questions, and अपि with धा means 'to shut'. The option allowed by rule III. 3. 141. ceases. Hereafter the Conditional (लृङ्) must invariably be used even in indicating Past action, when action is not completed, and there is reason for the employment of लिङ् (Potential). In indicating Future time, of course, लृङ्

must necessarily be employed as before. Henceforward, therefore, no option is allowed, but लृङ् must be employed where sūtras III. 3. 139 and 140 require it.

कामप्रवेदनेऽकच्चिति ॥ १५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ काम-प्रवेदने, अकच्चिति, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ काम इच्छाभिलाष इत्यर्थान्तरम्, तस्य प्रवेदने प्रकाशनम्, तस्मिन् गम्यमानेऽकच्चि-
रुपपदे धातोलिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

153. The affix 'Lin' comes after a root, in expressing or making known of a wish, except when the word 'kachehit' is in composition with it.

The phrase कामप्रवेदन means the expression of one's wish. This debar's all other tense-affixes. As कामो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् = अभिलाषो मे भुञ्जीत भवान् 'it is my wish that you will eat'.

Why do we say 'except the word कच्चित्'? Observe कच्चिज्जीवति ते माता कच्चिज्जीवति ते पिता । मारविद् त्वां पृच्छामि कच्चिज्जीवति पार्वती ॥ 'I hope thy mother is living, I hope thy father is living, I ask thee, O māravid! (Parrot), I hope that Pārvati is living'.

संभावनैऽलमिति चेत् सिद्धाप्रयोगे ॥ १५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ संभावने, अलम्, इति, चेत्, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगे, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संभावनं, क्रियासु योग्यताध्यवसानं शक्तिअज्ञानम्, तद्विधानीमलमर्थेन विशेष्यते, तच्चेत् संभावनं पर्याप्तमवितथं भवति, सिद्धाप्रयोग इत्यलमो विशेषणं, सिद्धश्चेन्नमोऽप्रयोगः, कचासौ सिद्धः यत्र गम्यते चाथां न चासौ प्रयुज्यते, तद्वद्दृशे संभावनोपाधिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाद्धातोलिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

154. The affix 'Lin' is employed after a root, when the expectation (of a person or thing being able or competent to do or suffer the action denoted by the verb) is implied (or expressed by any other word used along with them) than 'alam'.

The word लिङ् is understood here. The word संभावन means supposition and expectation in the power or ability of another to perform any action. This word is here qualified by the sense of the word अलम्. The word अलम् means 'adequate'; so that the above-mentioned संभावनं must be completed, full and true i. e. realised. The phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे qualifies अलम्, and means 'if the non-employment or omission of अलम् is valid or unobjectionable. When is that unobjectionable, when the sense of अलम् is implied by the sentence, but this word itself is not used? The Potential Mood is employed when the expectation is of the kind above described. This rule debar's all other tense-affixes. Thus अपि पर्वतं शिखरा, विन्यात् 'I expect he will break even the hill with his head'; अपि श्रोण-पाकं भुञ्जीत 'I expect you will eat away even a drona of cooked food'.

Why do we use the word अलम् 'competent to do'? Observe, विदेशस्थादी

देवदत्त प्रायेण गमिष्यति ग्रामम् 'I expect Devadatta who is living in a foreign country, will some day go back to his country'. Here though 'expectation' is expressed the idea conveyed by अलं, namely, the power to do something or adequacy to do is not present; and hence the Future is employed instead of the Potential.

Why do we use the phrase सिद्धाप्रयोगे 'when the actual result does not take place'? Observe, अलं देवदत्तो हस्तिनं हनिष्यति 'Devadatta is in a position to kill the elephant, and he will carry it out also'.

Under similar circumstances, in past and future times, when non-completion of action is indicated, the Conditional tense (लङ्) must be invariably used in preference to every other tense. Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus: "The Potential is employed when it is expressed that some one is believed to be capable of doing something, pre-supposing that the actual performance of the action does not take place".

विभाषा धातौ सम्भावनवचनेऽयदि ॥ १५५ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, धातौ, सम्भावन-वचने, अयदि, (संभावने, जलमिति, चेत्, सिद्धाप्रयोगे, लिङ्) ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ सम्भावनवचने धातावुपपदे यच्छब्दवर्जिते धातोर्विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

155. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after a verb when it has another verb which expresses 'expectation', in construction with it, but not so when the word 'yat' is used.

The whole of the last sūtra qualifies this sūtra; the 'expectation' indicated here being of the kind mentioned in the last sūtra and governed by the conditions laid down in that aphorism. The word by which an 'expectation' is expressed such as संभावय अपि, or अपिनाम्, is called सम्भावन-वचन. This sūtra enjoins an option where by the last aphorism, there would have been necessarily the Potential Tense. Thus सम्भावयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I expect you will eat'; अवकल्पयामि भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I hope you will eat'; श्रवणे भुञ्जीत or भोक्ष्यते भवान् 'I believe you will eat'. But no option is allowed, and the Potential must necessarily be used, when the word यत् is employed. As सम्भावयामि यत् भुञ्जीत भवान् 'I expect you will eat'.

The sūtra may also be rendered thus. "The Potential is not necessarily employed where there is in connection with it a verb in the sense of 'to hold as possible', but not when यत् is employed."

हेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ् ॥ १५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ हेतु-हेतुमतोः, लिङ् ॥
वृत्तिः ॥ हेतुभूते हेतुमति, धातौ वृत्तमानाद् धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

156. The affix 'Lin' is optionally employed after both those verbs which express the condition and its consequence.

The word हेतु means 'cause' or 'condition' and हेतुमत् means 'consequence or effect'. This supersedes all other tense-affixes; in other words, 'in conditional sentences in which one statement is made to depend upon another as its reason or ground, the Potential is used in both the antecedent and the consequent, otherwise called the *protasis* (हेतु) and *apodosis* (हेतुमत्), the former containing the condition or ground of argument, and the latter the conclusion based upon it'. Thus:—इत्तिणेन चेद्यायात्र शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he go by the right side, the cart will not be upset'; यदि कमलकम् आह्वयेत्र शकटम् पर्याभवेत् 'if he calls Kamalaka, the cart will not be upset'. Here 'going by the right side' is the *protasis* (हेतु), and 'not-upsetting' the *apodosis* (हेतुमत्).

This is an optional use of the Potential; we may use the Second Future in the alternative; thus इत्तिणेन चेद्यस्यति न शकटं पर्याभविष्यति 'if he goes by the south, the cart will not be upset'.

The word विभाषा 'optionally' used in the sūtra immediately preceding is also understood here.

Though the anuvritti of लिङ् could have been taken from the last aphorisms, its repetition here is for the sake of pointing out the particular time, namely, the Future, in which the Potential should be employed. Therefore it is not employed in the following sentences: हन्तीति पलायते 'he kills, therefore he flies'; वर्षति इति धावति 'it rains, therefore he runs'.

It, of course, follows that when the non-completion of the action is indicated, the Conditional (लङ्) should be employed, under these very circumstances. See examples under sūtra III. 3, 139.

इच्छार्थेषु लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेषु, लिङ्लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातुलिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ कामप्रवेदन इति वक्तव्यम् ॥

157. The affixes 'Lin' and 'Lot' are employed after a root, when another verb having the sense of 'wishing, is in construction with it.

This supersedes all other tense-affixes. When words expressing 'wish', such as इष्, कम्, प्रार्थ &c, are used, the Potential or Imperative is used; thus इच्छामि कामये or प्रार्थये भुञ्जीत भवान् or भुङ्क्तां भवान् 'I wish, desire or pray that your honor may eat'.

Part.—It is only, when a desire is expressed that Potential or Imperative should be employed and not merely when the verb 'to wish' or its synonyms are in composition. Therefore the Potential or Imperative are not used here: इच्छन् करोति, 'wishing, he does'.

The sūtra may be rendered thus: 'In connection with a verb, in the sense of 'wishing' the Potential or the Imperative may be employed'.

समानकर्तृकेषु तुमुन् ॥ १५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकेषु, तुमुन्, (इच्छार्थेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु धातुषु समानकर्तृकेषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

158. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb, when another verb meaning 'to wish' is in construction, provided that the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Thus इच्छति, वटि or वांछति भोक्तुम् 'he desires to eat'; कामयते भोक्तुम् 'he wishes to eat'; पिनाकपाणिं पतिम् आमुम् इच्छति 'desires to obtain for her husband the Pināka-handed God Siva'.

But why do we say 'when the agent of the Infinitive and the verb are the same'? We can not say देवदत्तं भोक्तुम् इच्छति यत्तदत्तः 'Yajñadatta wishes Devadatta to eat'; for here the agents of भुञ् and इष् are not the same. We must say, भुञ्जानम् instead of भोक्तुम् ।

Why do not we use it here:—इच्छन् करोति 'wishing, he does'? Because the Infinitive is never found in such constructions. In other words, the Infinitive in तुम् is employed when both the verbs have the same agent.

लिङ् च ॥ १५९ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, (इच्छार्थेषु, समानकर्तृकेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेषु समानकर्तृकेषु धातुषूपपदेषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

159. The affix 'Liñ' is used after a verb when verbs meaning 'to wish' are in construction with it, and the agent of both the verbs is the same.

Under similar conditions, with words implying 'wish', the Potential is used in the sense of the Infinitive; Thus भुञ्जीय इति इच्छति 'he wishes that he may eat'; अर्थायायेत इच्छति 'he wishes that he will read'.

When the non-completion of the action is implied, the Conditional must be employed under rule III. 3. 139.

इच्छार्थेभ्यो विभाषा वर्तमाने ॥ १६० ॥ पदानि ॥ इच्छा-अर्थेभ्यः, विभाषा, वर्तमाने, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ इच्छार्थेभ्यो धातुभ्यो वर्तमाने काले विभाषा लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

160. After roots meaning 'to wish', the Potential (Liñ) is optionally used in denoting the present time.

This ordains लिङ् where there would have been otherwise लट्. Thus इच्छति or इच्छेत् 'he wishes'; वटि or वट्यात्; कामयते or कामयेत् ।

विधिनिमंत्रणआमंत्रणाधीष्टसंप्रश्नप्रार्थनेषु लिङ् ॥ १६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ विधि-निमंत्रण-आमंत्रण-अधीष्ट-संप्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु, लिङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विभाषार्थेषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

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161. The affix 'Liñ' comes after a verb, when the agent either commands, invites, permits, politely expresses a wish, asks questions, or prays.

The word विधिः means 'commanding or directing a subordinate'; निमन्त्रणं means 'giving invitation'; आमन्त्रणं means 'expressing permission to do as one likes'; अधीष्टः means 'to politely express a wish'; सम्प्रश्नः means 'a question'; and प्रार्थना means 'a prayer'.

This excludes all other tense-affixes. Thus:—

(1) कटं कुर्यात् 'let him make the mat'; माम् भवान् आगच्छेत् 'you come to the village';

(2 and 3) इह भवान् भुञ्जीत 'you will or may dine here'; इह भवान् आसीत 'here you will or may sit';


(4) अधीच्छामो भवन्तं माणवकं भवानुपनयेत् 'we wish that you should condescend to initiate this boy';

(5) किं भो व्याकरणमधीयीय उत तर्कम् ? 'Sir, what shall I learn, the Grammar or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणं अधीयीय 'this is my prayer that I should learn Grammar'.

लोट् च ॥ १६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोट्, च, (विधि-निमन्त्रण-आमन्त्रण-अधीष्ट-सम्प्रश्न-प्रार्थनेषु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति धातोर्धिध्यादिष्वयेषु ॥

162. The affix 'Lot' also is employed after a  root in the sense of commanding, &c.

The Imperative Mood is employed also under the circumstances mentioned in the last aphorism. The division of this aphorism from the last, is for the sake of subsequent sūtras in which the anuvṛitti of लोट् only runs and not those of others. Thus:—

(1) कटं तावद् भवान् करोतु 'make the mat'; माम् भवान् आगच्छतु ।

(2 and 3) अमुञ्च भवान् आस्ताम् 'there you are invited to, or you may, sit'.

(4) पुत्रं भवान् वृक्ष्यापयतु 'you will teach, I hope, the son'.

(5) किं भो वेदमध्ययै उत तर्कं 'Sir what shall I learn, the Veda or the Logic'?

(6) भवति मे प्रार्थना व्याकरणमध्ययै छन्दोध्ययै 'this is my prayer that I may learn the Grammar, or that I may learn the Prosody'.

प्रेषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु कृत्याञ्च ॥ १६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रेष-अतिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, च, (लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रेषणं-प्रेषः, 'कामचारान् अनुज्ञानमतिसर्गः, निमित्तभूतस्य कालसंवावसरः प्राप्त-कालः, एतेष्वयेषु धातोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

163. The affixes called 'Kṛitya', and the affix 'Loṭ' come also after verbs, in the sense of direction, granting permission, and proper (particular) time.

The word प्रैष means 'direction'; अतिसर्गः means 'permission to do as one likes'; प्राप्तकालः means 'arrival of appropriate occasion or time for the doing of an action'. The force of च is to introduce the word लोट् into this aphorism. Thus भवता कटः करणीयः, कर्तव्यः, कृत्यः or कार्यः 'you must, (may, or it is proper time for you to) make the mat'.

So instead of the Passive Potential Participles, for such the Kṛitya affix (III. 1. 95 &c) may properly be called; we may have the Imperative also. Thus करोतु कट 'you must (may or it is the appropriate time to) make the mat'.

It might be asked 'Why the *kṛitya* affixes are enjoined to come with the force of direction, permission &c'. They have been ordained most generically to come in denoting action in the Abstract (भाव) and object (कर्म) and *a fortiori* they will come in denoting the senses of direction, permission &c; for the latter are but a species of action. If you say that लोट् being ordained in these special senses, will (on the principle, that an *apavāda* or special rule excludes an *utsarga* or general rule within the jurisdiction of such special rule) exclude *kṛitya* affixes; we would reply, that *kṛitya* affixes will not be excluded, for the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) will apply'.

To this objection we answer 'the special mention of the word *kṛitya* in this sūtra, indicates the existence of the following maxim :—

'The rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94) does not necessarily apply in all cases after sūtra III. 3. 94 treating of primary affixes by which feminine nouns are formed'.

Q.—What is the difference between the words विधि and प्रैष? Some say विधि means a precept enjoining something for the first time; while प्रैष means mere 'direction'.

लिङ् चोर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके ॥ १६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, च, ऊर्ध्व-मौहूर्-
तिके, (प्रैषातिसर्ग-प्राप्तकालेषु, कृत्याः, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रैषादिषु गम्यमानेषु ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्वातोर्लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकाराद्यथा प्राप्तञ्च ॥

164. The affix 'Lin' (as well as the 'Kṛitya' and 'Loṭ') is used (under similar circumstances in the sense of direction, permission &c.) when the time is future by a Muhūrta (48 minutes or an Indian hour); (or the Potential may be used as well, when it signifies 'at this very moment').

The words प्रैष &c. of the last sūtra must be read into this. The force of च is to introduce the words कृत्या and लोट् from the last sūtra, 'into this. Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्तादुपरि मुहूर्तस्य भवता खलु कठः कर्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः, or भवान् खलु कठं कुर्यात् (Potential) or करोतु (Imperative). 'You may make the mat after an Indian hour'; or 'you must &c', or 'it is proper time for you to make a mat just now'. Compare III. 3. 9.

स्मे लोट् ॥ १६५ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्मे, लोट्, (प्रैषातिसर्गप्राप्तकालेषु, ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिके) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपदे प्रैषादिषु गम्यमाने ऊर्ध्वमौहूर्तिकेऽर्थे वर्त्तमानाधातोर्लोट्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

165. The affix 'Loṭ' comes after a verb, when the word 'sma' is in composition; (when the sense is that of 'direction' permission) &c. and referring to time future by a Muhūrta).

This supersedes the Potential (लिट्) and Potential Passive Participles (कृत्या). Thus ऊर्ध्वं मुहूर्ताद् भवान् कठं करोतु स्म, ग्रामं गच्छतु स्म, माणवकमध्यापयतु स्म 'you (may, must, or it is proper time to) make the mat, or go to the village, or teach Mānavaka just now'.

अधीष्टे च ॥ १६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधीष्टे, च, (स्मे, लोट्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दउपपदेऽधीष्टे गम्यमाने धातोर्लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

166. And when 'wish' is meant (the Imperative may be used when the word 'sma' is in composition with the verb).

The word स्म is understood here. The word अधीष्ट has already been explained in sūtra III. 3. 161. This rule supersedes the Potential. Thus अङ्गं स्म राजन् माणवकमध्यापय or अङ्गं स्म राजन्नग्निहोत्रं जुहुधि 'O! King! I wish that you teach the boy or make Agnihotra sacrifice'.

कालसमयवेलासु तुमुन् ॥ १६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ काल-समय-वेलासु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कालादिषूपपदेषु धातोस्तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

167. The affix 'tumun' comes after a root, when the words 'kāla', 'samaya', and 'velâ' (all meaning time) are in composition.

Thus कालो भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'; समयः खलु स्नानभोजने सेवितुम् 'it is time to bathe and take food'; वेला भोक्तुम् 'time to eat'. In short, Infinitive in तुमुन् may be used with words meaning 'time'; as भवत्सरोऽयमात्मानं प्रकाशयितुम् 'this is, indeed, the time to show myself'.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here? कालः पचति भूतानि 'time do-

vours all creatures'. The sense of 'direction &c.' is understood in the sūtra; so when 'direction &c.' is not meant, the Infinitive will not be used.

Why do not we use the Infinitive here, कालो भोजनस्य 'proper time to eat'? Because, by the rule of non-uniform affixes (III. 1. 94), we can use also the affix क्युद् (by which the word भोजन is formed). As we have already said in sūtra III. 3. 163 that after sūtras III 1. 113 and forward, namely, in other sūtras than those treating of feminine affixes, the rule of III. 1. 94 may be employed as an *Anitya* or a non-universal rule.

लिङ् यदि ॥ १६८ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, यदि, (कालसमयवेलासु) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दे उपपदे कालादिषु धातोर्लिङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

168. The affix 'Liṅ' comes after a root, when the word 'yad' is in composition, and the words 'kāla', &c. occur in construction.

This ordains the Potential and supersedes the Infinitive in 'tunam'. Thus कालः, समयो, वेला वा यद् भवान् भुञ्जीत 'it is time that your honor should take your meals'.

अहं कृत्यत्वञ्च ॥ १६९ ॥ पदानि ॥ अहं, कृत्य-त्वः, च, (लिङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अहं कर्त्तरिवाच्ये गम्यमाने वा धातोः कृत्यत्वञ्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

169. The affixes 'kritya', and the affix 'trich' are added to a root, when fitness as regards the agent is implied, (as well as the affix 'liṅ').

The force of च is to introduce the Potential (लिङ्) into this, from the last. Thus भवता खलु कन्या वोढव्या बाह्या or वहनीया, (kritya); or भवान् खलु कन्यया वोढा (trich); or भवान् खलु कन्यां वहन् (liṅ) 'your honor is fit to marry the girl'.

Why specifically enjoin 'kritya' and 'trich' in the sense of fitness? They being enjoined universally, would a *fortiori*, be applied when *fitness* is to be denoted? Because the लिङ् being *pecially* enjoined to denote fitness, and being an *Apavāda*, would have debarred *kritya* and *trich*, which being universal affixes, would give way. Nor can we, to prevent this contingency, take shelter under rule III. 1. 94 of 'non-uniform affixes', for we have seen that that rule is not universally valid.

आवश्यकामर्थयोर्लिङिः ॥ १७० ॥ पदानि ॥ आवश्यक-आध-मर्थयोः, लिङिः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवश्यंभावविशिष्टे आधमर्त्यविशिष्टे च कर्त्तरिवाच्ये धातोर्लिङिप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

170. The affix 'ṛini' is added to the root in denoting agent, showing that there is some 'necessity'

or indebtedness or obligation on the part of the agent in connection with the action denoted by the verb.

Thus अवश्यं कारी 'must be done'. The compounding here takes place by II. 1. 72. So also शतं दायी 'ought to be given a hundred'; सहस्रं दायी; निष्कं दायी &c.

कृत्याञ्च ॥ १७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्याः, च, (आवश्यकामर्थयोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यसंज्ञकाश्च प्रत्यया आवश्यकाधनर्थयोरुपाधिभूतयोर्धातोर्भवन्ति ॥

171. The affixes called 'kritya' also come after a root when the sense to be indicated is that of 'necessity or obligation'.

Thus भवता खलु अवश्यं कटः कर्त्तव्यः, करणीयः, कार्यः or कृत्यः 'you ought to make the mat'; भवता शतं दातव्यं, दैयं, &c, 'you ought to pay a hundred'.

Q.—Where is the necessity of this aphorism? The *kritya* affixes, being enjoined universally without any limitation would, of course, come under these special circumstances also.

A.—They would be excluded by the special affix णिनि of the last sūtra, which comes especially with the force of 'necessity' and 'obligation'.

Q.—Not so, for णिनि comes in denoting the 'agent' (कर्ता), while *kritya* denotes the 'action' (भाव) and the 'object' (कर्म); so their scope being different, how can one supersede the other?

A.—Well, to remove this objection, some say, that *kritya* words like भव्य, गेय &c. (III. 4. 68) which especially refer to the *agent*, are the proper examples to be given under this aphorism; and not examples of *kritya*-formed words in general.

शक्नि लिङ् च ॥ १७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शक्नि, लिङ्, च, (कृत्याः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्नोत्यर्थोपाधिके धात्वर्थे लिङ्प्रत्ययो भवति चकारात् कृत्याश्च ॥

172. And the affix 'Liṅ' as well as the '*kritya*' affixes come after a verb, when the sense is that of 'capability'.

The word 'capability' qualifies the root so that the sense of capability must be inherent in the root; Thus भवता खलु भारो वोढव्यः, वहनीयः, वाह्यः (*kritya*), or भवान् खलु भारं वहेत् 'you can carry the load'.

Though *kritya*-affixes would have come in this sense, even without any special rule, for they are general affixes, their special mention in this sūtra is to guard against their being superseded by लिङ्, for rule III. 1. 94 is not universally valid.

आशिषि, लिङ्लोटौ ॥ १७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ आशिषि, लिङ्-लोटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशीर्विशिष्टेऽर्थे वसमानाद्वातोर्लिङ्लोटौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

173. The affixes 'Lūn' and 'Loṭ' come after a verb by which 'benediction' is intended.

The word आशीस् means the wish to obtain an object which one desires, a blessing, an expression of one's good wishes. The लिङ् here referred to is what is known as the आशीर्लिङ् or the Benedictive tense. Its conjugation is different from the conjugation of the ordinary लिङ्, which we have called the Potential or Optative; as चिरं जीव्यान् भवान् or चिरं जीवतु भवान् 'may you live long'!

Why do we say 'when denoting benediction'. Observe चिरं जीवति देवदत्तः 'Devadatta lives long'.

क्लिच्क्लौ च संज्ञायाम् ॥ १७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ क्लिच्-क्लौ, च, संज्ञायाम्, (आशिषि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये धातोः क्लिच्क्लौ प्रत्ययो भवतिः समुदायेन चेत्संज्ञा गम्यते ॥

174. The affixes 'ktich' and 'kta' are employed after a root, when benediction is intended, provided that the whole word so formed, is an appellative.

The affixes therefore, 'give the sense of the agent, with the addition that the action is simply the object of a prayer of some one who wishes that that may be the action of that agent, the sense being simply appellative.' Thus, तन्तिः = तनुतात् 'a weaver' (lit. may he weave); सातिः or सतिः = सनुतात् (VI. 4-45) 'wealth or gift'; भूतिः = भवतात् 'success'; मन्मिः = मनुतात् 'respect'. These are examples of words formed by the affix क्लिच्. Of words formed by क्त in this sense, we have देवदत्तः = देवा एनं देयातुः 'Devadatta (lit. may the Gods give him). Though the affix क्त has already once been generally ordained, its repetition here is to prevent its being superseded by क्लिच्. The च् of क्लिच् is qualifying only, distinguishing it from क्लिन् &c. and is useful in sūtra VI. 4. 39.

माङि लुङ् ॥ १७५ ॥ पदानि ॥ माङि, लुङ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माङ्यपपदे धातोलुङ् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

175. The affix 'Lūn' comes after a verb when the word 'mān' is used in connection with it.

This sets aside all other tense-affixes. As मा कार्षीत् 'let him not do' मा हार्षीत् 'let him not take'.

How have we then the Imperative and the Future tenses in the following sentence instead of the Aorist? मा भवतु तस्य पापं मा भविष्यति। This sentence is against good usage. Or, we may explain it by saying that there is another मा which has not the indicative ङ; and with that मा, other tenses may be used. The augment ङ is elided after the prohibitive particle मा, by VI. 4. 74.

70 'स्मोत्तरे लङ् च ॥ १७६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्म, उत्तरे, लङ्, च, (माङि, लुङ्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्म शब्दोत्तरे माङ्युपपत्तेर धातोर्लङ् प्रत्ययो भवति चकारालुङ् च ॥

176. When the word 'smān' is followed by 'sma', the affix 'Lan' as well as 'Luñ' may be employed after a verbal root.

By च we introduce लुङ् into the aphorism. Thus मास्म करोत्, or कार्षात्, 'let him not make'; मास्म हरत्, or हर्षात्, 'let him not take'.

ओ३म्

अथ तृतीयाध्यायस्य चतुर्थः पादः ॥

BOOK THIRD.

CHAPTER IV.

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धातुसम्बन्धे. प्रत्ययाः ॥ १ ॥ पदानि ॥ धातु-सम्बन्धे, प्रत्ययाः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ धातुवर्णानां सम्बन्धो धातुसम्बन्धः, विशेषणविशेष्यभावः, तस्मिन्सति भवयाकाञ्चीका अपि प्रत्ययाः साधवो भवन्ति ॥

1. When there is a syntactical relation between the senses of the verbs, the affixes are valid, even in denoting time, other than that for which they have been specifically enjoined.

The above sūtra is thus translated by Professor Bohtlingk:—"Words formed with affixes stand, (in reference to the time) in closer relation to the verb (with which they are allied)". Thus III. 2. 85 has taught that words like अग्निष्टोमयाजिन् have a past significance, *i. e.* they denote a person who *has* already performed the ceremony of Agniṣṭoma. According to the present sūtra, in spite of this past significance, inherent in the word, one may use this word with a future tense, whereby it is reduced to a future-denoting word. Thus अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुत्रो जनिता means 'to him a son will be born who will perform the said Agniṣṭoma sacrifice'.

The above is not a literal translation but rather an adaptation. The literal translation will be something like this. "Affixes are employed in denoting relation (संबन्ध) between the senses of verbs". The word धातुसम्बन्ध is a Genitive Compound meaning 'relation of root'. The word धातु 'root' is figuratively used for धात्वर्थ 'sense of root'; so that the above compound means 'relation of the senses of roots'. In other words, the relation between the roots should be that of qualifier and the qualified. When there exists such a relation between the senses of two verbs, namely, that of qualifier and the thing qualified, then the affixes may be employed in denoting other times than that specifically ordained for them. In other words, to quote from the Guide to Pāṇini: "It is to be observed, that when primitive words are joined with verbs so as to qualify them, the time of the verbs being mainly the time that controls the sentence, any time denoted by the primitive affixes, by which the former words have been formed will be subordinate to and regulated by, but need not correspond to, the time of the verbs, so far as the form of those words is concerned."

Thus तत्र वसन् स्वर्श 'living there, he saw'; अग्निष्टोमयाज्यस्य पुनो जनिता 'to him a son will be born, a performer of the Agnishtoma sacrifice'; कृतः कटः भविता 'he will be to-morrow maker of the mat'; भाविकृत्यमासीत् ।

Here, though the time of the action of living denoted by वसन् is present, (III. 2. 124), this action is present only in relation to the action of seeing, and though because the latter action is past, the former action also is past with reference to the speaker or writer, this circumstance does not affect the form of वसन्, which therefore may remain as it is. In other words, 'affixes are related directly to the root, and not to the whole sentence'.

Similarly the word अग्निष्टोमयाजी is formed by an affix (III. 2. 85) denoting past time, while the word जनिता is in the Future tense. Now, this linking together of a word in the Past tense with a word in the future is a valid usage. Here the time of the qualified verb भविता does not affect the special time of the qualifier *Agnishtomayājī*.

Q.—Why has the word प्रत्यय been repeated in this sūtra, when it was understood in this from III. 1.1? Ans.—The repetition is for the sake of indicating that affixes which are not ordained to come after roots (धातु), but which are enjoined to come after nouns &c. such as Taddhita affixes, are even valid in other tenses than those in which they have been specifically enjoined when related to a verb. Thus गोमानासीत् 'he was possessed of a cow'; गोमान् भविता 'he will be possessed of a cow'. Here the Taddhita affix मनुप् is added to the noun गो 'cow', with a present signification (V. 2. 94), the word गोमन् meaning 'who has cows' or 'in which there are cows.' This word गोमन्, however, is related and validly so, to the words आसीत् and भविता—one in the Past tense and the other in the Future.

क्रियासमभिहारे लोट् लोटो हिस्वौ वा च त-श्वमोः ॥२॥ पदानि ॥

क्रिया-समभिहारे, लोट्, लोटो, हि-स्वौ, वा, च, त-श्वमोः, (धातुसम्बन्धे)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समभिहारविशिष्टक्रियावचनाद्धातुलोद्प्रत्ययो भवति सर्वेषु कालेषु, सर्वलकाराणां मपवादः तस्य च लोटो हि एव इत्येतावाहंशौ भवतः, तद्धवभाविनस्तु वा भवतः ॥

2. When the (frequency or) repetition of an action is indicated, the affix 'Loṭ' is added to the root, and the verb is repeated. And the affixes 'hi' and 'sva', or the affixes 'tā' and 'dhvam' are the substitutes of 'Loṭ'.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this as follows: "When the repetition of an action is expressed, the Imperative is used, and though the second person singular is used, it may also stand for the second person plural."

The phrase धातुसम्बन्ध of the last sūtra is understood here also. The frequency or repetition of an action is called समभिहारः । This word qualifies the sense of the original. In other words, "when the sense of frequency &c. is under-

stood in connection with the action, this sense not being included in that of the verb, as it may be in the case of a verb from frequentative roots."

This Imperative mood is employed in all Tenses and Persons in connection with all moods. But this peculiar use of the Imperative is confined to the 2nd. person singular and plural Parasmaipada (हि and त); and 2nd. person singular and plural Atmanepada (स्व and ध्वम्). In other words, "the Imperative second person (Parasmaipada and Atmanepada) is repeated, though the subject of the main verb be different and the verb be in any tense." Thus लुनीहि लुनीही-स्येवायं लुनाति 'he cuts repeatedly', as if some one was always calling out to him 'cut thou, cut thou'. लुनीहि लुनीहीस्येव इमौ लुनीतः or इमे लुनन्ति 'they cut often and often'. So also लुनीहि लुनीहीस्येव त्वं लुनासि, युधाम् लुनीथः or यूयं लुनीथ 'thou or you two or you all cut repeatedly' as if some one was calling out to you 'cut you, cut you'.

So also लुनीत लुनीतेत्येव यूयं लुनीथ, अहं लुनामि, अयमलावीत् &c. 'you cut, I cut, he has cut repeatedly', as if some one was calling out to us 'cut ye, cut ye'. Similarly with Atmanepada roots; as अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, इमौ अधीयाते, इमे अधीयते &c. 'he or they study hard' as if some one was calling out to them 'study thou, study thou'.

So also अधीध्वमधीध्वमित्येव यूयमधीध्वे &c. Similarly in every tense, mood and person; as, अधीष्वाधीष्वेत्येवाहमधीते, आवामधीवहे, वयमधीमहे ।

The Intensive verbs in यङ् also have this meaning of frequency, but there the verb is not repeated, as the sense of frequency there is inherent in the verb; in this case we must repeat the verb to express frequency. See VIII. 1. 4.

This use of the Imperative is not found in Literature (Bohtlingk), but in Marathi.

समुच्चयेऽन्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, अन्यतरस्याम्, (लोट्, लोटो, हिस्वौ, वा, तद्ध्रस्वोः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समुच्चयमान क्रियावचनाद्वातोरन्यतरस्यो लोट् प्रत्ययो भवति, तस्य लोटो हिस्वा-वादेशो भवतः ॥

3. The affix 'Lot' is similarly added to the root optionally, when several themes follow one after another.

In this case also the terminations of the second person singular and plural Atmanepada and Parasmaipada are employed, namely, हि, स्व, or त and ध्वम् । Thus आक्षेपमद मदम् खड्गमद स्यात्पिधानमदरेवायमदति or इमावदतः, or इमैऽदन्ति ।

Similar examples can be formed as in the last aphorism; only the Imperative is not doubled as in the last case.

Similarly छन्दीऽधीष्व, व्याकरणमधीष्व, निरुक्तमधीष्वेत्येवायमधीते, or इमावधीयाते or इमेऽधीयते 'he or they two or they all learn, learning Prosody, learning Grammar, learning Nirukta'.

This being an optional rule, we have these forms also; व्याकरणमधीते,

छन्तोधीते, निरुक्तमधीते, इत्येवायमधीते, इमावधीयाते, इनेऽधीयते । छन्तोधीषे, व्याकरणमधीषे, निरुक्तमधीषे, इत्येव त्वमधीषे, युवामधीषाथे, धूममधीष्वे । छन्तोधीष्वे व्याकरणमधीष्वे, निरुक्तमधीष्वे इत्येवाहमधीष्वे, आहामधीष्वे, वयमधीमहे ।

यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः पूर्वस्मिन् ॥ ४ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-विधि, अनु-प्रयोगः, पूर्वस्मिन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूर्वस्मिन् लोड्विधाने यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

4. In the first case (comprised under sūtra III. 4. 2), the same verb must be used in the subsequent clause, as the verb which was put in the Imperative mood.

The examples have already been given under sūtra III. 4. 2. We cannot say लूनीहि लूनंहीरयेवायं छिनत्ति; we must use a verb from the root लृ 'to cut'. Such as लूनति, &c. So also अधीष्वधीष्व takes अधोते only after it and not a synonymous verb like पठति &c.

समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य ॥ ५ ॥ पदानि ॥ समुच्चये, सामान्य-वचनस्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीये लोड्विधाने समुच्चये सामान्यवचनस्य धातोरनुप्रयोगः कर्तव्यः ॥

5. In the second case (III. 4. 3) where many actions are spoken of together, the verb that is made to follow, should be such as has the sense common to all those verbs.

Thus भोदनं भुङ्क्त्व, सक्तून्पिव, धानाः खादित्येवायमभ्यवहरति 'he takes his meals, eating rice, drinking saktu, and tasting fried corn'. Here the verb अभ्यवहरति has a sense common to all the verbs in the Imperative mood. The object of taking the second verb, having the senses common to all the antecedent verbs, is to prevent the repetition of *all* the previous ones. In the secular vernacular, the brevity, however, is often not approved.

छन्दसि लुङ्लङ्लिटः ॥ ६ ॥ पदानि ॥ छन्दसि, लुङ्-लङ्-लिटः, (धातुसम्बन्धे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ छन्दसि विषये धातुसम्बन्धे सर्वेषु कालेषु लुङ्लङ्लिटः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

6. In the Vedas, the Aorist, Imperfect and Perfect are optionally employed in all tenses, in relation to verbs.

The words धातुसम्बन्ध and अन्यतरस्याम् are understood here also. By saying 'optionally', other tense-affixes may be similarly employed.

Thus हेतो हेवेनिरागम् (Rig. I. 1. 5) 'O God Agni! come hither with the gods'. Here the Aorist आगम् has the force of the Imperative. ये भूतस्य प्रचेतस

इत्वं तेष्वोऽकरं नमः 'I make salutation &c. &c'. (Rig. X. 85. 17). Here अकरं is Aorist (लृङ्) and has the sense of the Present.

So also अग्निमय होतारमवृणीतायं यजमानः । Here लङ् is used instead of लृङ् ।

So also अद्या ममार = अद्य म्रियते । Here लिट् is used instead of लृट् ।

**लिङ्गर्थे लेट् ॥ ७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्गर्थे, लेट्, (छन्दसि, अन्यतर-
स्याम्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ्गर्थे यत्र लिङ् विधीयते, विश्वादिहेतुहेतुमतोर्लिङ्गित्वेन वादिस्तत्र छन्दसि विषये अन्यतरस्यां लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

7. The affix 'Let' is optionally employed in the Vedas, wherever the Potential can be used.

Thus in the sense of 'command' &c., लेट् may be employed instead of लिङ्. This is called the Vedic Subjunctive and is peculiar to the Vedas only. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1) 'may he make us beautiful'. तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12) 'may he increase'. नीति विद्युत् (Rig. VII. 25. 1) 'may the thunder-bolt fall'. भवति (Rig. V. 37. 5) 'may he become'. So also मन्दिषत्, नेता, नेषत्, तक्षिषत्, उदधि च्यावयति

**उपसंवादाशङ्कयोश्च ॥ ८ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपसंवाद-आशङ्कयोः, च,
(छन्दसि, लेट्) ॥**

वृत्तिः ॥ उपसंवादे आशङ्कायां च गम्यमानायां छन्दसि विषये लेट् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

8. Where a contingent promise (a reciprocal agreement), or apprehension is implied, the affix 'Let' is employed after a root, in the Chhandas Literature.

The word उपसंवाद means 'reciprocal agreement, contracting to do'. Thus यदि मे भवानिहं कुर्याद् अहमपि भवत इहं दास्यामि 'If you do this for me, I will give this to you'. Agreements like these are called उपसंवाद; while guessing or inferring the result from a cause is called आशङ्का 'apprehension or fear'.

Thus अहमेव पशूनामीशौ ॥ मद्भा एव वो यशं नृणां न्तै ॥ मर्वेयतयान्येव वः पात्राण्यु-
च्यन्तै ॥ नेज्जिह्वायन्तो (or नेज्जिह्वायन्वो) नरकं पताम ॥ (Nir. I. 11. Bohtlingk) = जिह्वाचरणेन
नरकपात आशङ्क्यते ॥ All the above examples have the sense of Potential, but the Subjunctive (Let) must be employed necessarily in these senses and not optionally, which anuvritti was understood in the last sūtra.

**तुमर्थे सेसेनसेअसेन्क्सेकसेन्अधीन्कध्यैकधीन्शथ्यैशथ्यैन्तवै-
तवेङ्-तवेनः ॥ ९ ॥ पदानि ॥ तुमर्थे, से-सेन्-असे-असेन्-क्से-कसेन्-अधी-अधीन्-
कध्यै-कध्यैन्-शथ्यै-शथ्यैन्-तवै-तवेङ्-तवेनः, (छन्दसि) ॥**

तुमनोऽर्थस्तुमर्थः, तत्र छन्दसि विषये धातोः स्यादयः प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

9. In the Vedas the following affixes come

after roots with the force of the affix 'tumun', viz.:—
'se', 'sen', 'ase', 'asen', 'kse', 'kasen', 'adhyai', 'adhyain',
'kadhyai', 'kadhyain', 'śadhyai', 'śadhyain', 'tavai', 'taven'
and 'taven'.

In the Vedic literature the Infinitive is formed by the above 15 affixes. These, when stripped of their indicatory letters, will be found to consist of the following five affixes:—(1) से=से, सेन् and कसे ॥ (2) असे=असे, असेन् and कसेन् ॥ (3) अधै=अधै, अधैन्, कधै, कधैन्, शधै and शधैन् ॥ (4) तवै ॥ (5) तवे=तवेङ् and तवेन् ।

The difference in the affixes is made by four indicatory letters, viz. न्, क्, श् and ङ् । The forces of क्, श् and ङ् have already been explained; the indicatory न् makes the word take the *udatta* accent on the first syllable (VI. 1, 197). Thus से is acute (III. 1. 3); सेन् has acute on the first syllable of the word (VI. 1. 197); असे has accent of the affix (III. 1. 3); असेन् throws the accent on the first syllable of the word; the indicatory श् makes the numbers 11 and 12 Sārvadhātuka, and the root takes the proper Vikaṛaṇa of its class before these affixes; while before तवै, the acute falls both on the first syllable and the last syllable simultaneously (VI. 1. 200, VI. 2. 51).

Before going to give examples of these affixes, let us explain what is meant by तुमर्थ 'the sense of the affix तुम्' । The word तुमर्थ is here equivalent to भाव or 'action'; for the *pratyayas* or affixes, to which no meaning has been assigned in grammar, convey the meaning of the bases to which they are added. Thus no special meaning having been attached to तुमुन्, it will convey the meaning of the root to which it is added, *i. e.* it will denote the 'action' of the verb, or Infinitive mood. (1) से—वभे रायः । (2) सेन्—तवामेधे रथानाम् (Rig. V. 66. 3). (3 and 4) असे and असेन्—अस्मे श्रुतं शूरवे जीवसे धा (Rig. III. 36. 10). So also कृत्वे दक्षाय जीवसे (Rig. X. 57. 4). With असेन् the word will be जीवसे । (5) क्से—मेधे भगाय । (6) कसेन्—गर्गामिव श्रियसे (Rig. V. 59. 3). It has not the निच् accent (VI. 1. 197) which would have given us श्रियसे । (7 and 8) अधै, अधैन्—कर्मण्युपचारधै । (9) कधै—इन्द्राग्नी आहुवधै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (10) कधैन्—श्रियधै । (11 and 12) शधै, शधैन्—पिबधै (Rig. IV. 27. 5); the accent however is on पि । सह माहुवधै (Rig. VI. 60. 13). (13) तवै—सोममिन्द्राय पातवै । (14) तवेङ्—सं ते गर्भे हवामहे दशमे मासि स्रुतवे (Rig. X. 184. 3). (15) तवेन्=गृत्वे (Rig. I. 46. 7); कर्तवे (Rig. I. 85. 9); हर्तवे ॥

प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै ॥ १० ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रयै, रोहिष्यै,
अव्ययिष्यै, (तुमर्थ, छंदसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रयै रोहिष्यै अव्ययिष्यै इत्येते शब्दा निपात्यन्ते छन्दसि विषये ॥

10. The words 'prayai', 'rohishyai' and 'avya-
thishyai' are irregular Vedic Infinitives.

Thus (1) प्रये वेवेभ्यो मही: (Rig. I. 142. 6); प्र + या + कौ = प्रये = प्रयातुम्। (2) अपामो-
वर्षानां रोहिष्यै। रुह् + इष्यै = रोहिष्यै = रोहणाय। (3) अ + व्यथ् + इष्यै = अव्यथिष्यै = अव्यथनाय।

दृशे विख्ये च ॥ ११ ॥ पदानि ॥ दृशे, विख्ये, च, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दृशे विख्ये इत्येतौ छन्दसि विषये निपात्येते ॥

11. The words 'driṣe' and 'vikhye' are anomalous Vedic Infinitives.

Thus दृशे विश्वाय सूर्यम् (Rig. I. 50. 1) = द्रष्टुम्। विख्ये त्वा हरामि = विख्यातुम्।

शकि यामुल्कमुलौ ॥ १२ ॥ पदानि ॥ शकि, यामुल्-कमुलौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शक्तौ धातावुपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे एमुल्कमुल् इत्येतौ प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

12. The affixes 'namul' and 'kamul' are added to roots in the Chhandas to form Infinitives, when they are governed by the verb 'śak' (to be able).

Of the affix एमुल् the real affix is अम्; the letter ए causes vridhhi (VII. 2, 115); and ल regulates the accent (VI. 1. 193). So also of कमुल्, the letter क prevents guṇa and vridhhi substitution (I. 1. 5).

Thus अग्निं वै देवा विभजं नाशक्रुवन् 'the Gods were not able to divide Agni'. विभज् + एमुल् = विभाजं = विभक्तुम्। So also अपलुपं नाशक्रुवन्, instead of अपल्लोतुम्।

ईश्वरे तोसुन्कसुनौ ॥ १३ ॥ पदानि ॥ ईश्वरे, तोसुन्-कसुनौ, (तुमर्थे, छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ईश्वरशब्द उपपदे छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे धातोस्तोसुन्कसुन्प्रत्ययौ भवतः ॥

13. The affixes 'tosun' and 'kasun' are added to roots in the Chhandas, to form Infinitives, when the word 'īśvara' is in composition.

Thus ईश्वरोऽभिचरितो = अभिचरितुम्। ईश्वरो विविक्षः = विविक्षितुम्। ईश्वरो विदवः = वितर्कितुम्।

कृत्यार्थे तवैकेन केन्यत्वनः ॥ १४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कृत्य-अर्थे, तवै-केन-केन्य-त्वनः, (छन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्यानामर्थो भावकर्मणो, तस्मिन् कृत्यार्थे छन्दसि विषये तवै केन् केन्य त्वन् इत्येते प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

14. The affixes 'tavai', 'ken', 'kenya' and 'tvan' are added to roots in the Chhandas, in the sense of the 'Kṛitya-affixes'.

The force of *kṛitya* affixes is to denote 'action' (भाक्) and 'object' (कर्मन्). Thus अन्वेतत्रै = अन्वेतव्यम्; परिधातवै = परिधातव्यम्; नावगाहै = नावगाह्यव्यम्; विदुमेष्यः (Rig. I.

146. 5) = वृत्तिरव्ययम्; शुभ्रप्रेत्यः = शुभ्रपितृव्यम्; कर्त्तव्यम्; (Rig. I. 10. 2) = कर्त्तव्यम् ।

The affix तवै was mentioned in sūtra III. 4. 9 also; there it has the force of the Infinitive, and here, that of the Passive Participle. For its accent, see VI. I. 200; 2. 51.

अवचक्षे च ॥ १५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अवचक्षे, च, (कृत्यार्थे, कृन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अवपूर्वाच्चक्षिष्ठ एशप्रत्ययो निपात्यते ॥

15. The word 'avachakshe' is an anomalous passive participle in the Vedas.

Thus रिपुणा नावचक्षे (Rig. IV. 58. 5) = नावख्यातव्यम् । अव + चक्ष् + एश् = अवचक्षे । The sūtra II. 4. 54 is not applied here.

भावलक्षणे स्थेण्कृञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यस्तोसुन् ॥ १६ ॥ पदानि ॥

भाव-लक्षणे, स्था-इण्-कृञ्-वदि-चरि-हु-तमि-जनिभ्यः, तोसुन्, (कृत्यार्थे, कृन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भावो लक्ष्यते येन तस्मिन्नर्थे वर्तमानेभ्यः स्थादिभ्यो धातुभ्यश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे तोसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

16. The affix 'tosun' comes in the Vedas after the following verbs, when mere name of the action is indicated, viz :— 'sthâ' (to stand), 'iñ' (to go), 'kpiñ' (to make), 'vad' (to speak), 'char' (to walk), 'hu' (to sacrifice), 'tam' (to grow tired) and 'jan' (to produce).

These are also Infinitives. The phrase कृत्यार्था is not to be read into this sūtra. The word भावलक्षणं qualifies the sense of the root (भावो लक्ष्यते येन). Thus, स्था—आ संस्थातोर्वेद्यां सीदन्ति = भासमाहेः सीदन्ति । इण्—पुरा सूर्यस्योर्वेतोराधेयः । कृञ्—पुरा वत्सानामपाकतोः । वद्—पुरा प्रवदितोरग्नौ प्रहोतव्यम् । चर्—पुरा प्रचरितोराग्नीध्रीये होतव्यः । (Gopatha Brahmana II. 2. 10) । हु—आ होतोरप्रमत्तस्तिष्ठति । तम्—आ तमितोरासोत (Taitt. Br. I. 4. 2) । जन्—आ विजनितोः सम्भवाम (Taitt. S. II. 5. 1. 5) ।

सृपितृदोः कसुन् ॥ १७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सृपि-तृदोः, कसुन्, (तुमर्थे, कृन्दसि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सृपितृदोर्द्धात्वोर्भावलक्षणेऽर्थे वर्तमानयोश्छन्दसि विषये तुमर्थे कसुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

17. In the Vedas, the affix 'kasun' comes after the verbs 'srip' (to creep) and 'trid' (to injure), in the sense of Infinitives indicating name of action.

Thus विसृपः । पुरा क्रूरस्य विसृपः (Yaj. I. 28.); आहवः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12); पुरा जन्म्य आहवः (Rig. VIII. 1. 12). These words are Indeclinable by I. 1. 40.

अलंसृत्वोः प्रतिषेधयोः प्राचां कृत्वा ॥ १८ ॥ पदानि ॥ अलं-सृत्वोः, प्रतिषेधयोः, प्राचां, कृत्वा ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्नं खलु इत्येतयोः प्रतिषेधवाचिनोरुपपदयोर्धातोः तत्रा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

.18. According to the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' comes after a verb, when there are in combination with it, the words 'alam' and 'khalu', expressing the sense of prohibition.

The anuvritti of the words 'in the Vedas &c' does not extend further. Thus अन्नं कृत्वा 'do not make'; खलु पीत्वा 'do not drink'; अन्नं बाले रुदित्वा 'do not weep, O girl !

Why do we say 'when there are अन्नं and खलु' ? Witness माकार्षीः 'do not make'. Why do we say 'when expressing prohibition' ? Observe अलङ्कारः 'decoration'.

The phrase 'in the opinion of the Eastern Grammarians' shows that it is an optional rule. Therefore we have अन्नं रोदनेन 'do not weep'. Or if rule III. 1. 94 be applied, then the use of the word प्राचां is for the sake of merely showing respect (pâjârtha); the rule could have stood without it.

उदीचां माडो व्यतीहारे ॥१९॥ पदानि ॥ उदीचां, माडः, व्यतीहारे, (कृत्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ माडो धातोर्व्यतीहारे वर्त्तमानादुदीचांमाचार्याणां मतेन तत्राप्रत्ययो भवति ॥

19. According to the opinion of the Northern Grammarians, the affix 'ktvâ' is added to the root 'men' (to exchange), when the sense is that of interchange, (though the action denoted by the former word is not prior to the action denoted by the latter word).

Thus अपमित्य याचते 'having offered an exchange, he asks' अप + मे + कृत्वा = अप + मा + ल्यप् = अप + मि + लुक् + य (VI. 1. 45 and 71) = अप + मित्य (VII. 4. 40). This is an optional rule, as the phrase 'according to the northern' indicates. So we have in the alternative, याचित्वाऽपयमते 'having asked he exchanges'; and this is the more general use of *ktvâ*; namely, it comes after that verb which is concerned about a time *anterior* to that of the other; see rule 21. The present sūtra is an exception to III. 4. 21.

The root मेङ् has been exhibited in the sūtra as माङ्, with the vowel आ instead of ए. This indicates the existence of the following Paribhāṣā:—

"A root, which, when destitute of anubandhas, ends in either ए, ओ or ऐ, must not be considered to have ceased to end in either ए, ओ, or ऐ, when an anubandha has been attached to it." By this Paribhāṣa ऐप् must be regarded as ending in ऐ, and as therefore आ may be substituted for the vowel ऐ (VI. 1. 45), even while प् remains, ऐप् does assume the form, हाप् and is consequently, by the prohibition अहाप् in sūtra I. 1. 20, forbidden to be termed घु ।

परावरयोगे च ॥ २० ॥ पदानि ॥ पर-अवर-योगे, च, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परेण पूर्वस्य योगे गम्यमाने अवरेण च परस्य धातोः तत्रा प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

20. The affix 'ktvā' is added to a root, to denote what is situate on that (para) side or on this (avara) side of something.

The situation of the पर 'the other' side and अवर 'this' side, is called परावरयोगः । Thus अग्रगच्छ नदीम् पर्वतः स्थितः 'the mountain is situate without having reached the river i. e. on this side of the river, the river being on the other side. Here the word पर्वतः is qualified by the word नदीः which is the point from which the situation is taken; and which in this case, is on the other side of the mountain. Similarly अतिक्रम्य तु पर्वतं नदी स्थिता 'the river is situate on the other side of the mountain'. Here the relation between the 'mountain' and the 'river' is of अवर and पर ।

In other words:—"The gerund of a root may be used to imply the situation of a thing with reference to the situation of another spoken of as the agent of the action denoted by that root and of the action denoted by another verb or primitive word used along with the gerund; though the action referred to in the gerund is not prior to the other action"—G. P.

समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले ॥ २१ ॥ पदानि ॥ समान-कर्तृकयोः, पूर्व-काले, (क्त्वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समानकर्तृकौ ययोर्द्वित्वर्थयोस्तत्र पूर्वकालेधात्वर्थे वर्तमानाद्धातोः क्त्वाप्रत्ययो भवति ॥
वार्तिकम् ॥ भास्यं व्यादाय स्वपिति सम्मील्य हसन्ति, त्र्युपसंख्यानमपूर्वकालत्वात् ॥

21. When two actions have the same agent, the affix 'ktvā' comes after that verb which takes place in a time anterior to that of the other (i. e. the Absolute in 'tva' refers to that action which precedes in time).

Thus भुङ्क्त्वा व्रजति 'having eaten he goes'; पीत्वा व्रजति 'having drunk, he goes'.

The rule is not confined to the case of two verbs: thus, स्नात्वा, पीत्वा, भुङ्क्त्वा, इत्या व्रजति 'having bathed, drunk, eaten and given, he goes'.

Why do we say 'having the same agent'? When the agents are different, the gerund cannot be used, but the Locative Absolute construction will have to be used to express the same sense. Thus भुङ्क्वति ब्राह्मणे गन्धति देवदत्तः 'the Brāhmaṇa having been fed, Devadatta goes'.

Why do we say 'which denotes prior action'? For, if the actions are co-eval, the gerundial construction will not be employed. Thus व्रजति च जल्पति च 'he goes and chatters'.

Vart.—The phrase आस्यं व्यास्यं स्वपिति, संमील्य हसति 'he sleeps, with his mouth open, and laughs with his mouth closed', is valid, though the affix क्त्वा is not added to the verb denoting prior action.

आभीक्ष्ये शमुल् च ॥ २२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आभीक्ष्ये, शमुल्, च,
(समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आभीक्ष्येऽपि शिष्टेऽर्थे वर्तमानाद्भातोऽर्थमुन् प्रत्ययौ भवन्ति ॥

22. The affixes 'namul' and 'kṭvā' come after a root, when re-iteration is to be expressed.

The phrases 'when the agent of both the verbs is the same' and 'after the verb whose action occurs first in time' are to be read into this sūtra to complete the sense. The force of च is to introduce the affix क्त्वा into this sūtra. The affixes kṭvā and namul express 're-iteration' then only when the verb is doubled, and not singly. See rule VIII. 1. 4. Thus भोजं भोजं व्रजति 'having eaten repeatedly, he goes'; similarly भुक्त्वा भुक्त्वा व्रजति, पायं पायं व्रजति 'having drunk repeatedly he goes'.

न यदनाकाङ्क्षे ॥ २३ ॥ पदानि ॥ न, यदि, अनाकाङ्क्षे,
(क्त्वा, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यच्छब्दरूपपदे धातोः क्त्वाणमुन् प्रत्ययौ न भवतोऽनाकाङ्क्षे वाक्ये ॥

23. The affixes 'kṭvā' and 'namul' are not added to a root, when the word 'yad' is used, in a simple sentence, which does not depend upon another to complete the sense.

The word आकाङ्क्षा means 'inter-dependence' or the inability of a word, phrase or sentence, to indicate the intended sense in the absence of another word, phrase, or sentence. In other words, when there are two actions one prior and another subsequent, and they complete the sense of the sentence, without standing in need of any other verb; in such a case, kṭvā and namul are not used, when the word yad is in composition. This sūtra prohibits the affix kṭvā also, though the affix namul is in immediate context. Thus यद्यं भुङ्क्ते ततः पचति, यद्यमधीते ततः शीते, having eaten, he cooks; having road, he sleeps'.

But when there is inter-dependence or आकाङ्क्षा, we have यद्यं भुक्त्वा व्रजति, अधीत एव ततः परम् । Professor Bohtlingk translates it thus : 'In connection with यद् the above-mentioned Absolutives will not be applied, unless the two verbs required one more as complement.'

विभाषाग्रेप्रथमपूर्वेषु ॥ २४ ॥ पदानि ॥ विभाषा, अग्रे-प्रथम-
पूर्वेषु, (समानकर्तृकयोः, पूर्वकाले, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अग्रे प्रथम पूर्व इत्येतेषूपपदेषु समानकर्तृकयोः पूर्वकाले धातोः क्त्वाणमुन् प्रत्ययौ विभाषा भवतः ॥

24. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come optionally after that verb which denotes the prior action, when both verbs have the same agent, provided that the following words are in composition :—'agre', 'prathama' and 'pûrva'.

This is an *Aprâpta-vibhâshâ*. The word 're-iteration' is not understood here. Thus अग्रे, प्रथमं, पूर्वं वा भोजं भुक्त्वा व्रजति 'having first eaten he goes'.

By using the word 'optionally' it is indicated, that the regular Tenses, such as the Present &c, may be employed also. Thus अग्रे भुङ्क्ते ततः व्रजति 'he eats first and then goes'.

Q.—The affixes of *Lat* (Present tense) &c. would have been applied by the rule of वासकूप (III. 1. 94); why then use the word 'optionally'?

Ans.—The very use of the word 'optionally' in this sūtra indicates the existence of this *Paribhâshâ* :—"The rule III. 1. 94 has no concern with the affixes *ktvâ* and *namul*, when both these affixes are enjoined at one and the same time by a single rule."

Therefore, we cannot apply III. 1. 94 and use the affixes *Lat* &c, when 're-iteration' is meant. That is the exclusive province of क्त्वा and एमुञ् ।

Why is not here the Upapada compounding by rule II. 2. 20? For an answer to this, see the commentary on II. 2. 20. Had only एमुञ् been enjoined by this sūtra, and not क्त्वा also, then we could have formed the उपपद समास, for such is the force of the word एव in that sūtra.

कर्मण्याक्रोशे कृजः खमुञ् ॥ २५ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, आक्रोशे, कृजः, खमुञ् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे कृजो धातोः खमुञ् प्रत्ययो भवति आक्रोशे गम्यमाने ॥

25. The affix 'khamuñ' is added to the verb 'kri' (to make), when a word in the accusative case is in construction with it, if the sense intended implies 'abuse'.

Of the affix खमुञ्, the efficient portion is अम्; the indicatory ख introduces the augment मुम् (VI. 3. 67). Thus चोरं कारमाक्रोशति 'he reviles him as thief, i. e. he calls out in abuse 'thou art a thief, thou art a robber, &c.' The person is not really made a thief, but making him a thief is to express one's indignation.

स्वादुमि एमुल् ॥ २६ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वादुमि, एमुल्, (कृजः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्वादुम्युपपदे कृजो एमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

26. (When the actions, signified by the verbs 'kri' and another, have the same agent), the affix 'namul' is added to the verb 'kri' (which is concerned

about a time anterior to that of the other), provided that a word signifying 'sweet' is in composition.

The words within brackets are to be read into the sūtra by anuvritti from III. 4. 21. Thus खादुङ्कारं or लवणंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having made his food sweet or seasoned'.

In the sūtra, the word स्वादुम् is used ending with a म्. It is an anomalous form, and indicates that a म् must be added to the upāpadas in these cases the object served by this form being that rule IV. 1. 44, by which feminine of words like स्वादु ending in वृ is formed by long ई, does not apply here. Thus स्वाद्रीम् कृत्वा यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते। Here though यवागू is feminine, the attribute is still स्वादु and not स्वाद्री.

It might be said 'why not use the previous affix खमुम्? That will solve all difficulties; and will give us the augment म्'. To this, however, there is a fatal objection. The augment म् will, no doubt, come in the last example, but it will *not* come when the word to be formed is an Indeclinable (VI. 3. 67), such as, when the sense is of the affix च्वि and all *chvi*-ending words are Indeclinables (I. 4. 61). Therefore, the affix खमुम् will not remove the difficulty in the following case; अस्वाद्रीं स्वाद्रीं कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते = स्वादुङ्कारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having first sweetened what was not sweet before'.

By applying rule III. 1. 94, we have the affix त्वा in the alternative. Thus स्वादु कृत्वा भुङ्क्ते। All these affixes form abstract nouns (भाव) as they have the sense of the affix तुमुन् (III. 4. 16). In connection with एमुन्, the Instrumental case can not, however, be used, *i. e.* we cannot use the Passive construction; *e. g.* स्वादुङ्कारं यवागूम् भुङ्क्ते ऐवद्वेन will be wrong.

अन्यथैवकथमित्यंसुसिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत् ॥२९॥ पदानि ॥ अन्यथा-एवं-
कथम्-इत्यंसु, सिद्ध-अप्रयोगः, चेत्, (कञः, एमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्यथादिषूपपदेषु कञो एमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति सिद्धाप्रयोगश्चेत्करोतेर्भवति ॥

27. When the words 'anyathā' (otherwise), 'evam' (so), 'katham' (how) and 'ittham' (thus) are compounded with the verb, then 'namul' comes after 'kri' (to make), if it be such that its omission would be unobjectionable.

When is the non-employment of कृम् valid? When the same sentence will remain correct by omitting कृ, *i. e.* when, without employing it, the same idea will be expressed. Thus अन्यथाकारं, एवंकारं, कथंकारं or इत्थंकारं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats otherwise, he eats so, how does he eat, or he eats thus'. In fact, the sentence अन्यथाकारं भुङ्क्ते is equivalent to अन्यथा भुङ्क्ते।

Why do we say 'if the non-employment would be valid'? Witness

अन्यथा कृत्वा शिरो भुङ्क्ते 'he eats, having turned his head aside'. Here कृञ् could not be spared.

यथातथ्येतरसूयांप्रतिवचने ॥ २८ ॥ पदानि ॥ यथा-तथ्योः, असूया-प्रतिवचने, (कृञः, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यथा तथा शब्दयोरुपपदयोः कृञो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति, असूया प्रतिवचने गम्यमाने ॥

28. The affix 'namul' is added to the root 'kri' (to make), the words 'yathâ' and 'tathâ' being compounded with it, when an angry reply is made : (if the omission of 'kriñ' is unobjectionable).

When one questions or replies in indignation, displeasure or anger, then is this construction valid. Thus तयाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन 'I will eat in that way ; what is that to you' ? Similarly यथाकारं भोक्ष्ये, किं तवानेन ।

Why do we say 'when an angry reply is made' ? Observe यथाकृत्वाऽहं भोक्ष्ये तथा वं ब्रूयसि 'in what way I will eat, that thou wilt see'.

Why do we say 'when the omission of कृञ् would be valid' ? Witness यथाकृत्वाऽहं शिरो भोक्ष्ये किं तवानेन 'what is that to you, in what way turning my head I will eat' ?

कर्मणि दृशिविदोः साकल्ये ॥ २९ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्मणि, दृशि-विदोः, साकल्ये, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कर्मण्युपपदे साकल्यविशिष्टेऽर्थे दृशिविदोर्द्धात्वोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

29. When the object is compounded with it, the verb 'driś' (to see), or 'vid' (to know), takes the affix 'namul', to denote the total number of such objects.

Thus कन्यादर्शं वरयति 'he woos every girl that he sees i. e. all the girls seen' ब्राह्मणान् वेदं भोजयति 'he feeds as many Brāhmaṇas as he knows, i. e. all'.

Why do we say 'when denoting the total number of such objects' ? Observe ब्राह्मणं दृष्ट्वा भोजयति 'having seen the Brāhmaṇa he feeds him'.

यावति. विन्दजीवोः ॥ ३० ॥ पदानि ॥ यावति, विन्द-जीवोः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ यावच्छब्द उपपदे विन्दतेर्जीवितेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

30. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'vid' (to get) and 'jīv', (to live), when the word 'yâvat' is combined with them.

'As यावद्देवं भुङ्क्ते 'he eats all that he gets'. यावज्जीवनधीते 'he studies as long as he lives, i. e. throughout his life'.

‘चर्मोदरयोः पूरेः ॥ ३१ ॥ पदानि ॥ चर्म-उदरयोः, पूरेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ चर्मोदरयोः कर्मणोरुपपदयोः पूरयतेर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

31. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pûr’ (to fill), when the words ‘charman’ and ‘udar’ are compounded with it as object.

Thus उदरपूरं भुंक्ते ‘he eats so as to fill his belly’ ? चर्मपूरं स्त्रणाति ‘he spreads so as to cover the skin’.

वर्षप्रमाणं ऊलोपश्चास्यान्यतरस्याम् ॥ ३२ ॥ पदानि ॥ वर्ष-प्रमाणे, ऊ-लोपः, च, अस्य, अन्यतरस्याम्, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पूरयतेर्ज्ञानोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ऊलोपश्चास्य पूरयतेरन्यतरस्यां भवति समुदायेन चैदं वर्षस्य प्रमाणमित्यन्ता गम्यते ॥

32. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the verb ‘pûr’ (to fill), when the word so formed expresses a measure of rain-fall; and optionally the long ‘û’ of this ‘pâr’ is elided.

Thus गोष्पदपूरं or गोष्पदं वृष्टो देवः ‘it rained filling up small puddles (lit. the impression made by the foot of the cow on the soil)’. सीतापूरं or सीतापं वृष्टो देवः ‘it rained filling up all furrows’.

Why have we used the word अस्य ‘of this pûr’ in the sūtra ? The long ऊ of पूर is to be elided, and not the long ऊ, if there be any, of the upapada. Thus मूषिकाबिलपूरं or मूषिकाबिलपं वृष्टो देवः । Here the long ऊ of मू is not shortened.

चले क्नोपेः ॥ ३३ ॥ पदानि ॥ चले, क्नोपेः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्, वर्ष-प्रमाणे) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ क्नूयो शब्दे उन्वने च, अस्माप्यन्ताद्धानोच्चायेषु कर्मसु उपपदेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति वर्षप्रमाणे गम्यमाने ॥

33. The affix ‘namul’ comes after the causative of the root ‘knûy’ (to wet), when there is compounded with it a noun denoting ‘clothing’, in the accusative case, as an upapada, if the whole word so formed expresses a measure of the rain-fall.

The verb क्लोपि is the causative root formed from the simple root क्लूय ‘to wet’. Thus चेलक्लोपं वृष्टो देवः or वलक्लोपं or वसनक्लोपं &c. ‘it rained so as to wet the clothes’.

निमूलसमूलयोः कषः ॥ ३४ ॥ पदानि ॥ निमूल-समूलयोः, कषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमूलसमूलशब्दयोः कर्मवाचिनोरुपपदयोः कर्षेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

34. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'kash' (to rub), when the words 'nimûla' and 'samûla' are compounded with it in the accusative case.

Thus निमूलकाषं कषति 'he' scrapes down to the roots'; समूलकाषं कषति 'he scrapes up to the roots'. In fact, the gerund of the root and the root itself denote the same thing; the whole sentence निमूलकाषंकषति being equal to निमूलं कषति. From this sūtra up to sūtra III. 4. 46, the subsequent verb governing the previous word, must be derived from the same root from which the gerund is derived; see sūtra III. 4. 46.

शुष्कचूर्णरूक्षेषु पिषः ॥ ३५ ॥ पदानि ॥ शुष्क-चूर्ण-रूक्षेषु, पिषः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शुष्कादिषु कर्मवाचिषूपपदेषु पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

35. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'piṣh' (to grind), when the words 'śuṣhka' (dry), 'chûrṇa' (powder), and 'rūksha' (dry), in the accusative case are compounded with it.

Thus शुष्कपेषं पिनष्टि = शुष्कं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'; चूर्णपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds to powder'; रूक्षपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds it dry'. Here also an appropriate verb from the same root पिष् must be used to govern the gerund.

समूलाकृतजीवेषु हन्कञ्ग्रहः ॥ ३६ ॥ पदानि ॥ समूल-अकृत-जीवेषु, हन्-कञ्-ग्रहः, (कर्मणि, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समूल अकृत जीव इत्येतेषु शब्देषु कर्मसूपपदेषु यथासंख्यं हन् कञ् ग्रह इत्येतेभ्यो धातुभ्यो णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

36. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'han' (to kill), 'kri' (to make) and 'grah' (to seize), when the words 'samûla', 'akṛita' and 'jîva' in the accusative case are respectively compounded with them.

Thus समूलघातं हन्ति (VIII. 3. 32 and 54) 'he destroys so as to tear up by the roots i. e. he totally extirpates'; अकृतकारं करोति 'he does a thing which was not done before'; तं जीवघातं गृह्णाति 'captures him so as to preserve his life, i. e. captures him alive'. Here also appropriate verbs from the same roots are used to govern the gerund.

करणे हनः ॥ ३७ ॥ पदानि, ॥ करणे, हनः, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ करण उपपदे हन्तेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

37. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb

'han', when a word in the Instrumental case is in composition with it.

Thus पाणिघातं वेदिं हन्ति (VII. 3. 32 and 54) = पाणिना वेदिं हन्ति 'he strikes the *Vedi* with the hand'; पादघातं भूमिं हन्ति 'he strikes the ground with the foot'. Reading this sūtra along with III. 4. 48, we find that हन् here does not mean 'to kill', and the further difference between this aphorism and that is, that in the case of this sūtra a cognate verb from the same root must be used, as the gerund; not so in sūtra III. 4. 48; or this sūtra may be for the sake of forming Invariable compounds with the upapadas, such as पादघातं ।

According to Pātanjali, this affix comes after हन् under this aphorism, even when हन् means 'to injure'; thus counteracting rule III. 4. 48, by anticipation, and in opposition to the general principle of interpretation enunciated in rule I. 4. 2. Thus भस्त्रिघातं हन्ति 'he kills with the sword'; शरघातं हन्ति 'he kills with arrows'.

Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

स्नेहने पिषः ॥ ३८ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्नेहने, पिषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्नेहनवाचिनि करणे उपपदे पिषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

38. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'pish' (to grind), when a word in the Instrumental case denoting 'liquid' is in composition.

Thus उपपेषं पिनष्टि = उपकेन पिनष्टि (VI. 3. 58.) 'he grinds with water'; तैलपेषं पिनष्टि 'he grinds with oil'. Here also III. 4. 46 applies, and an appropriate verb from the same root is employed to govern the gerund.

हस्ते वर्तिग्रहोः ॥ ३९ ॥ पदानि ॥ हस्ते, वर्ति-ग्रहोः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हस्तवाचिनि करणे उपपदे वर्तयतेर्गृह्णातेश्च णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

39. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'varti' (causative of vrit) and 'grah', when a word denoting 'hand', in the Instrumental case, is in composition.

Thus हस्तवर्ते, करवर्ते or पाणिवर्ते वर्तयति = हस्तेन वर्तयति 'he revolves by the hand'. So also, तम् हस्तग्राहम् गृह्णाति 'he takes him by the hand': so पाणिग्राहम्, करग्राहम् &c.

Here also rule III. 4. 46 applies and appropriate verbs from the same roots must be employed to govern the gerund.

स्वे पुषः ॥ ४० ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वे, पुषः, (करणे, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ स्ववाचिनि करणे उपपदे पुषेर्द्धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

40. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'push' (to feed), when a word in the Instrumental case, having the sense of 'sva' is in composition.

The word स्व means 'self', 'kinsmen' and 'property'. Thus स्वपोषं पुष्पाति 'he feeds himself'; आत्मपोषं, गोकुषं, पितृपोषं, मातृकोषं, धनपोषं, रैपोषं &c. See I. i. 68. Rule 46 applies here also.

अधिकरणो बंधः ॥ ४१ ॥ पदानि ॥ अधिकरणो, बंधः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधिकरणवाचिन्युपपत्तेर्बन्धात्तद्वर्तोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

41. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind), when a word expressing location is in construction with it.

Of course, rule III. 4. 46 applies here also, and the gerund must be governed by a verb from the same root *bandh*. Thus चक्रबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds to the wheel'; कटुबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in a snare'; मुष्टिबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the fist'. चोरकबन्धं बध्नाति = चोरके बध्नाति ।

संज्ञायाम् ॥ ४२ ॥ पदानि ॥ संज्ञायाम्, (बंधः, शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ संज्ञायाम् विषये बन्धात्तद्वर्तोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

42. The affix 'namul' comes after the verb 'bandh' (to bind) when the word so formed denotes an appellative.

Thus कौचबन्धं बध्नाति 'he binds in the manner called *krauncha-bandhan* or 'heron-knot'. मयूरिकाबन्धं बध्नाति or बद्धः 'he binds or is bound in a 'peacock-knot'. अट्टलिकाबन्धं बद्धः 'bound in a knot called *attalika-bandhan*'.

All the above, *krauncha-bandhan* &c. are names of various sorts of 'bonds or knots'. The rule III. 4. 46. also applies here.

कर्त्रीजीवपुरुषयोर्नशिवहोः ॥ ४३ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्त्रीः, जीव-पुरुषयोः, नशि-वहोः, (शमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ जीवपुरुषयोः कर्तृवाचिनोरुपपत्त्योऽयथासंख्यमाशिवहोर्द्धात्वोर्णमुल्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

43. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'nas' (to perish) and 'vah' (to carry), when the words 'jīva' (life) and 'puruṣa' (person) expressing the agent of these verbs, are respectively in construction with them.

Thus जीवनार्थं नश्यति = जीवो नश्यति 'perishes, so that his life perishes i. e. dies away'; पुरुषवाहं वहति 'the man carries, i. e. the man becoming a servant, carries another on him = पुरुषः प्रेत्यो भूत्वा वहति ।

Why do we say 'when denoting an agent'? Observe, जीवेन नष्टः 'destroyed by life'; पुरुषेणोदः 'carried by a man'.

ऊर्ध्वे शुषिपूरोः ॥ ४४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ऊर्ध्वे, शुषि-पूरोः, (कर्त्राः, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ऊर्ध्वशब्दे कर्तृवाचिन्युपपदे शुषिपूरोर्द्धात्त्वोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

44. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'śuśh' (to dry), and 'pûr' (to fill), when the word 'ûrdhva', denoting an agent, is in composition with them.

Thus ऊर्ध्वशोषं शुष्यति वृत्तिः = ऊर्ध्वे शुष्यति 'the tree is dried up while it is still standing'. Compare यद्वोर्ध्वशोषणवद्विशुष्कः 'or wither like the up-heaved grass drying up' (Bhatti. III, 14); ऊर्ध्वपूरं पूर्यते 'is filled full to the brim'. Rule III. 4. 46 applies here also.

उपमाने कर्मणि च ॥ ४५ ॥ पदानि ॥ उपमाने, कर्मणि, च, (कर्त्राः, यामुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपमाने कर्मण्युपपदे चकारात् कर्तरि धातोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

45. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when an object or an agent, denoting similitude, is in composition with it.

The word 'agent' is read into the sūtra, by virtue of the word च 'also'. That with which any thing is compared is called उपमान or 'object of comparison or similitude'. As घृतनिधायम् निहितम् जलम् 'water was kept as ghee would be kept'. सुवर्णनिधायम् निहितः 'was kept as gold'. The force is that 'of इव'; thus घृतनिधायम् निहितः = घृतमिव निहितः । So also when the object of comparison is as agent: thus, भजनाशे नष्टः 'he perished like a goat'. So also दूडकनाशम्, हन्तनाशम्, &c.

कषादिषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगः ॥ ४६ ॥ पदानि ॥ कष-आदिषु, यथा-विधि, अनुप्रयोगः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ निमज्जसमूजयोरित्येतद्वार्य कषादयः, एतेषु यथाविध्यनुप्रयोगो भवति ॥

46. The same verb should be employed after the gerunds formed from the verbs 'kash' &c; as the verb from which the gerund is derived.

From sūtra III. 4. 34 up to sūtra III. 4. 45, a verb from the same root must be employed in the subsequent part, as *anuprayoga*, from which the gerund in *namul* was formed. This rule has been illustrated in the examples under the previous aphorisms.

The present is a restrictive or *niyama* rule. This chapter deals with affixes employed in denoting syntactical relation between two verbs (धातुसम्बन्धे प्रत्ययः) । See III. 4. 1 : so a gerund in *namul*, would, of course, be followed by some verb as *anuprayoga*; the present sūtra declares that the *other* verb must be from the same root as the gerund.

उपदंशस्तृतीयायाम् ॥४७॥ पदानि ॥ उपदंशः, तृतीयायां, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दंश दशने, अस्माद्धातोरुपपन्नस्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

47. The affix 'namul' comes after the root 'danś' (to bite) preceded by the preposition 'upa'; when a word ending with the third case-affix is in composition with it.

The *Upapada samāsa* is optional in this case (II. 2. 21). Thus मूलकोपदंशम् भुङ्क्ते or मूलकोनोपदंशम् भुङ्क्ते 'he eats after having relished the food with radish'. Similarly आर्द्रकोपदंशम् or आर्द्रकोनोपदंशम् 'relished with ginger'.

The words मूलक &c in the above examples are the 'objects' of the verb उपदंश, and 'instruments' of the verb भुञ्ज् ।

By the rule of वासकरूप (III. 1. 94) the affix त्वा (or its substitute ल्वप्) may be optionally used, wherever we may use the affix णमुल् । Thus मूलकोनोपदंश्व भुङ्क्ते ।

हिंसार्थानां च समानकर्मकाणाम् ॥४८॥ पदानि ॥ हिंसा-अर्थानां, च, समान-कर्मकाणां, (णमुल्, तृतीयायां) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ हिंसा प्राण्युपघातः, तदर्थानां धातूनामनुप्रयोगधातूनां समानकर्मकाणां तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

48. The affix 'namul' comes after roots having the sense of 'hins' (to strike), when the object of this gerund is the same as the object of the main verb, and when the noun with which it is compounded ends with the third case-affix.

Thus वृण्डोपघातम् गाः कालवति 'he collects together cows, beating them with a club'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21.) Thus we have also वृण्डेनोपघातम् । Similarly with other verbs having the sense of हिंस; thus, वृण्डताडम् or वृण्डेन ताडम् ।

Why do we say 'when the object of the gerund is the same as the object of the main verb'? When the objects are different, णमुल् will not be employed. Thus चोरम् वृण्डेनोपहरव, गोपालको गाः कालवति 'having beaten the thief with the club, the cowherd collects together the cows'.

सप्तम्यां चोपपीडरुधकर्षः ॥ ४९ ॥ पदानि ॥ सप्तम्यां, च, उप-पीड-रुध-कर्षः, (तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उपपूर्वस्य पीडरुधकर्षस्य सप्तम्यन्त उपपदे चकारास्तृतीयान्त उपपदे णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

49. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'pīd' (to press), 'rudh' (to obstruct), and 'krish' (to draw),

when they are preceded by the preposition 'upa', and when they are compounded with nouns ending with the 7th case-affix or the 3rd case-affix.

The phrase '3rd case-affix' must be read into the sūtra by virtue of the word च । Thus पार्श्वोपपीडं गते 'he sleeps pressing on his sides'. The compounding is optional (II. 2. 21); so we have in the alternative, पार्श्वयोरुपपीडम् or पार्श्वोपपीडम् ।

So also व्रजोपरोधम् (or व्रजे उपरोधम् or व्रजेनोपरोधम्) गाः स्थापयति 'he stations the cows so that they are all in the fold'. पाण्युपकर्षं (or पाण्युपकर्षम् or पाणिनाप-कर्षम्) धानाः संगृह्णाति । It is Bhvādi कृष् here, and not Tudādi.

समासत्तौ ॥ ५० ॥ पदानि ॥ समासत्तौ, (सप्तम्यां, तृतीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ समासत्तौ गम्यमानायां तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्द्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

50. (The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Locative or Instrumental case is in composition with it), and when immediate contiguity is intended i. e. 'to fall together by the ears'.

The word समासत्तिः means 'immediate contiguity'. Thus केशग्राहम् (or केशेषु ग्राहम् or केशैर्ग्राहम्) युध्यन्ते 'having closely caught each other by the hair, they fight.' Similarly हस्तग्राहम् or हस्तेषु ग्राहम् or हस्तैर्ग्राहम्; so also अष्टिग्राहम् 'taking a stick'; लोष्टग्राहं &c. See II. 2. 21.

प्रमाणे च ॥ ५१ ॥ पदानि ॥ प्रमाणे, च, (तृतीयायां, सप्तम्यां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ प्रमाणे गम्यमाने तृतीयासप्तम्योरुपपदयोर्द्वातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

51. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a noun in the Instrumental or Locative case is in composition with it, and when measure, of length is intended.

The word प्रमाणम् means 'length or extension'. Thus द्व्यङ्गुलौत्कर्षं (द्व्यङ्गुले उत्कर्षम् or द्व्यङ्गुलेनोत्कर्षम्) खण्डिकां छिनत्ति 'he cuts' pieces of the length of two fingers'. See II. 2. 21.

अपादाने परीप्सायाम् ॥ ५२ ॥ पदानि ॥ अपादाने, परीप्सायां, (णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां अपादाने उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

52. The affix 'namul' is added to the root, when a noun in the Ablative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

The word **परीप्ता** means 'haste, hurry'. Thus **शय्योत्थाय** (or **शय्याया उरयाय**) **धावति** 'having risen from bed, he runs away'. That is to say, he runs with such a haste that he does not perform even the necessary ablutions &c, but as soon as he rises from the bed, he runs off. Similarly **रन्नापकर्षम् पयः पिबति** 'he drinks milk from a hole in the vessel', he being in such a haste, that he does not care to drink from the proper aperture. **भाट्टापकर्षमपूपान् भक्षयति** 'he eats cakes hot from the frying pan', not waiting till they are placed on a dish.

Why do we say 'when meaning hurry'? Observe, **भासनावुत्थाय गच्छति** 'having risen from the seat, he goes'. Here 'haste' not being intended, the affix **त्वा** (व्यप्) is employed. See II. 2. 21.

द्वितीयायां च ॥ ५३ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्वितीयायां, च, (परीप्सायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे परीप्सायां गम्यमानायां धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

53. The affix 'namul' comes after a verb, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when 'haste' is intended.

Thus **वट्टिग्राहम्** (or **वट्टि ग्राहम्**) **युध्यन्ते** 'they fight, having hastily taken up sticks'. That is, they are in such a haste to fight, that they do not tarry to take up the proper weapons, offensive and defensive, but engage in fight with anything that is at hand, such as sticks, stones &c. Similarly **लोष्टग्राहम्** or **लोष्ट ग्राहम्**.

स्वाङ्गेऽधुवे ॥ ५४ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, अधुवे, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अधुवे स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

54. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, signifying the limbs of one's own body, when the limb is such that its loss will not destroy life.

Thus **भ्रूविक्षेपं कथयति** 'he narrates, throwing his eye-brows (glances) about in all directions'. **अक्षिनिकाण्श्च जल्पति** 'he prattles, having closed the eyes'.

The **स्वाङ्ग** word is "a word denoting a thing which not being liquid or gaseous, and being capable of being perceived by the senses, and not being one produced by a change from the natural state, exists in a living being, or though found elsewhere actually or at any particular time, had previously been known as existing in only a living being, or is found to have actually, (not figuratively) the same relation to the being it is in, as a similar thing has to a living being."

The word **अधुव** means 'non-vital organ', or a limb which even being cut off, does not necessarily destroy life. Therefore, we cannot use the affix

एमुन् in the following, as *head* is not an अङ्गुल limb:—उरुत्तप्य शिरः कथयति 'he narrates, having thrown the head on one side'. Compare VI. 2. 177.

परिक्लिश्यमाने च ॥ ५५ ॥ 'पदानि ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने, च, (स्वाङ्गे, द्वितीयायां, शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परिक्लिश्यमाने स्वाङ्गवाचिनि द्वितीयान्त उपपदे ध्रुतोर्णमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

55. The affix 'namul' comes after a root, when a word in the Accusative case denoting a limb of one's own body, which is completely afflicted by the action, is in composition.

The word परिक्लिश्यमान means 'completely hurt or affected'. Thus उरः प्रतिपेष or उरःपेष युध्यन्ते = कुरुन्मुरः पीडयन्तः 'they fight so as to afflict their whole bosom'. So also शिरःपेष or शिरःप्रतिपेष ।

The difference between this and the last sūtra consists in this, that this sūtra applies even to vital organs, such as 'breast', 'head' &c; while the last aphorism applies 'non-vital organs' only.

विशिपतिपदिस्कन्दां व्याप्यमानासेव्यमानयोः ॥ ५६ ॥ पदानि ॥ विशि-पति-पदि-स्कन्दां, व्याप्यमान-आसेव्यमानयोः, (द्वितीयायां, शसुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्वितीयान्त उपपदे विश्यादिभ्यो धातुभ्यो एमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति व्याप्यमाने आसेव्यमाने चार्थे गम्यमाने ॥

56. The affix 'namul' comes after the verbs 'vis' (to enter), 'pat' (to fall), 'pad' (to go) and 'skand' (to leap), when a word in the Accusative case is in composition, and when the sense denoted is that of complete pervasion and total absorption.

The word व्याप्ति (or व्याप्यमान) means the full and complete pervasion of the substances with the actions (denoted by the verbs विश्, &c). The word आसेवा means 'assiduous performance of any action, or absorption into it'. In other words, 'frequency' of an action is आसेवा । The word व्याप्ति therefore refers to the noun (in the accusative case) and आसेवा to the verb (such as विश् &c). These two words have the same significance here as the words निर्य and वीर्य in sūtra VIII. 1. 4. and by the application of that rule, both the noun and the verb require to be repeated. That rule, however, will not apply here, when there is compounding by II. 2. 21. But when there is no compounding, (for rule II. 2. 21. makes composition only optional) then there is repetition of the noun if व्याप्ति 'all' is meant; and of the verb, if आसेवा 'frequency or assiduous performance' is meant. Thus गेहानुप्रवेशमास्ते, (or गेहगमनप्रवेशमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रवेशमनुप्रवेशमास्ते) 'having entered the house, he sits down', meaning either, 'having en-

tered every house in succession, he sits down', or 'having repeatedly entered the house, he sits down'.

Similarly with the root पत्, we may have three examples as in the last, and so also with the roots पठ् and स्कन्द्. Thus गेहानुप्रपातमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रपातमास्ते or गेहमनुप्रपातमनुप्रपातमास्ते); गेहानुप्रपादमास्ते, (or गेहं गेहमनुप्रपादं or गेहमनुप्रपादमनुप्रपादम्); गेहावस्कन्दमास्ते (or गेहं गेहमवस्कन्दं or गेहमवस्कन्दमवस्कन्दम्) ।

Why do we say 'when the sense is that of *all* or *frequency*?' Observe, गेहमनुप्रविश्य भुङ्क्ते 'having entered the house, he eats'.

Q.—By sūtra III. 4. 22, *namul* would have been valid, when *ābhikṣhna* was meant; and *ābhikṣhna* and *āsevā* mean the same thing *i. e.* 'frequency'. Why then ordain *namul* again, by the present sūtra, in the sense of *āsevā*? If you say, "we repeat it, in order to prevent the coming of the affix *त्वा*", that is not so. For *त्वा* would come by *यास्वरूप* rule; (see III. 1. 94 and III. 4. 47).

A.—The repetition is for the sake of *Upapada-samāsa* with a word in the accusative case. Under rule 22, there was no *upapada*, while in the present case there is an *upapada*.

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—"विष्, पत्, पठ्, and स्कन्द् in composition with an accusative, form the absolutive gerund in अम् (*namul*), when one wishes to express that every object of that name is completely affected by the action, or that the action is constantly repeated in that object."

अस्यतितृषोः क्रियांतरे कालेषु ॥ ५७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्यति-तृषोः,
क्रिया-अंतरे, कालेषु, (द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः । क्रियामन्तरयति. क्रियान्तरः, क्रियान्वयवाचकः, क्रियान्तरे धात्वर्थे वर्त्तमानाभ्यामस्यतितृषिभ्यां द्वितीयान्तरेषु कालवाचिषूपरेषु णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

57. The affix '*namul*' comes after the verbs 'as' (to throw) and 'trish' (to thirst), when it is intended to express an intermission of the action denoted by the root, provided that a word in the accusative case denoting time, is in composition.

The word *क्रियान्तर* means 'the interval between two actions'. Thus द्दधहात्यासं or द्दधहमत्यासम् गाः पाययति 'he gives drink to the cows, after an interval of two days, *i. e.* every third day'. So also द्दधहतर्षं or द्दधहं तर्षं गाः पाययति 'having kept the cows thirsty for two days, he makes them drink'. That is to say, 'having given them a drink today, he gives them another drink after an interval of two days'; &c.

Why do we say 'after the verbs अश् and तृप्'? Because the affix णमुल् will not be applied 'after other roots, though the sense be that of interval of time. Thus द्दधहमुपोष्य भुङ्क्ते 'having fasted for two days, he eats'.

Why do we say 'when denoting an intermission of action'? Observe 'अहरन्त्यस्येयं गतः', here there is no intermission in the action of 'going'.

Why do we say 'denoting time'? Observe 'योजनमन्त्यस्य गाः प्राययति' 'allowing an interval of four miles to pass, he gives drink to the cows i. e. he waters the cows at every four miles'. Here the interval is that of 'space' and not of 'time', and hence the affix is *त्यप्* and not *णमुल्*.

नाम्यादिश्रियहोः ॥ ५८ ॥ पदानि ॥ नाञ्चि, आदिशि-ग्रहोः,
(द्वितीयायां, णमुल्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नामशब्दे द्वित्यान्त उपपदे आदिश्रियहोश्च धातोर्णमुल् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

58. The affix 'namul' comes after the roots 'ādis' and 'grah', when the word 'nāman' (name) in the Accusative, is in composition.

Thus नामाहेशमाचष्टे 'he mentions it, telling his name'. नाममाह नामाहयति 'he calls me by taking my name (i. e. by my name)'.

अव्ययेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्यानं रुजः क्त्वाणमुलौ ॥ ५९ ॥ पदानि ॥
अव्यये, अयथा-अभिप्रेत-आख्यानं, रुजः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अव्यय उपपदेऽयथाभिप्रेताख्यानं गम्यमाने करोतिः तत्राणमुलौ भवतः ॥

59. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' come after the root 'kri' (to make), when an Indeclinable word is in composition with it, and the meaning is the communication of anything in a disagreeable or undesired way.

The word अव्ययाभिप्रेताख्यानं means literally 'to denote the expression of that which is not really intended' i. e. a manner not suited to the proper communication of that news, such as communicating a bad news in a loud voice and good news in a low voice. The compounding being optional, the affix रुजः may be replaced by *त्यप्*. Thus we have three forms नीचैः क्तव्य, नीचैः कृतवा, or नीचैः कार. Thus if one had communicated an agreeable news like the birth of a son in a low voice, the other may retort "किं तर्हि वृषज नीचैः क्तवा, नीचैः कृतव or नीचैः कारमाचष्टे"; and so, if one had communicated an unpleasant news as आक्षय कृतवाते गर्भिणी in a loud voice, the other may reply "किं तर्हि वृषजोच्यै क्तवा, उच्यैः कृतव, or उच्यैः कारमाचष्टे" (See II. 2. 22 for compounding).

Why do we say 'communicating in an undesired manner'? Observe उच्यैः कृतवाऽऽचष्टे पुनस्ते ज्ञातः । Here only रुजः is added. Why have we repeated रुजः in this sūtra, when, in this chapter, by the rule of वास्तकृत् (III, 1. 94), *ktvâ* would have presented itself in the alternative? The repetition is for the sake of *samāsa* or composition, by the application of II. 2. 22. The repetition

of एतुल् is for the sake of the subsequent sūtras, into which the anuvṛitti of *ktvā* and *namul* runs concurrently.

‘तिर्यच्यपवर्गे ॥ ६० ॥ पदानि ॥ तिर्यचि, अपवर्गे, (कृञः, क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिर्यक्शब्द उपपदे कृञः तदाणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतोऽपवर्गे गम्यमाने ॥

60. The affixes ‘*ktvā*’ and ‘*namul*’ come after the root ‘*kri*’, when the word ‘*tiryak*’ is in composition in the sense of ‘carrying to the end’.

The word अपवर्ग means ‘completing or finishing’. Thus तिर्यक् कृत्वा, तिर्यक् कृत्वा or तिर्यक्कारं गतः = समाप्त्य गतः ‘having completed, he went away’.

Why do we say ‘when meaning completion’? Observe तिर्यक् कृत्वा काष्ठं गतः ‘having placed the wood *obliquely*, he went away’. Here एतुल् is not employed. See II. 2. 22 for compounding. The word तिर्यचि is the locative of the *word-form* तिर्यच्, and not of the *word* तिर्यच्. Other examples are: एतदोश (V. 3. 5); अदसो मान् (I. I. 12).

स्वाङ्गे तस्प्रत्यये कृञ्वोः ॥ ६१ ॥ पदानि ॥ स्वाङ्गे, तस्-प्रत्यये, कृ-ञ्वोः, (क्त्वा-णमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तस्प्रत्यये स्वाङ्गवाचिनि उपपदे करोतेर्भवतेश्च धातोः तदाणमुलौ प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

61. The affixes ‘*ktvā*’ and ‘*namul*’ are added to the roots ‘*kri*’ (to make) and ‘*bhû*’ (to become), in composition with a word denoting a member of one’s own body; when the affix ‘*tas*’ is joined thereto.

The word स्वाङ्ग has already been defined in sūtra III. 4. 54. The *svaṅga* word in the present case must be such as should end in the affix तस्—a *taddhita* affix technically called तसि and तसिन् (V. 3. 78 &c). Though here there are two roots कृ and भू, and there are two affixes to be applied *i. e.* क्त्वा and एतुल्; yet the rule of ‘respective allocation’ (I. 3. 10) does not apply here. Both the affixes are applied to each of the roots. Thus मुखतः कुर्य गतः or मुखतः कृत्वा गतः or मुखतः कारंगतः. Similarly वृष्टतः भूय तिष्ठति or वृष्टतः भूत्वा तिष्ठति or वृष्टतः भावं तिष्ठति.

Why do we say ‘a word denoting a limb of one’s own body’? Observe सर्वतः कृत्वा गतः.

Why do we say ‘ending in the affix तस्’? Observe मुखीकुर्य गतः, मुखी-भूय गतः.

Why do we use the word ‘the affix’? If तस् is not an affix, but a verb, the rule will not apply. Thus मुखं तस्यति = मुखतः ‘throws in the mouth’. With this मुखतः so formed, we cannot apply the rule. Thus मुखतः कृत्वा गतः.

नाथार्थप्रत्यये ऋयर्थे ॥ ६२ ॥ पदानि ॥ ना-धा-अर्थ-प्रत्यये,
चवी-अर्थे, (कृष्णोः, क्त्वा-गमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ नाथार्थप्रत्यये शब्दे ऋयर्थउपपदे कृष्णोर्भावोः स्याणमुजो प्रत्ययो भवतः ॥

62. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the roots 'kri' and 'bhû', when a word ending in the affix 'nâ' (V. 2. 27) or in an affix having the force of 'lthâ' (V. 3. 42), or having the sense of the affix 'chvi' '(to make or to become something what it had not been before, V. 4. 50), is in composition. *

Two words, नाना 'various' and विना 'without' are formed by the affix ना (V. 2. 27); affixes having the force of धा are धा, ध्वम्, धम् and दधा (V. 3. 42 to 46) which are added to numerals in the sense of 'part' or 'fold' &c. The force of *chvi* has already been explained.

Thus अनाना नाना कृत्वा गतः = नाना कृत्य गतः Similarly नाना कृत्वा or नानाकारं गतः । So also विना कृत्य, विना कृत्वा or विना कारं गतः । So also नाना or विना भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । With words formed by धा and cognate affixes, we have:—द्विधा or द्वैधं कृत्य—कृत्वा—कारं—भूय—भूत्वा or भावं गतः । But not so in हिरक् कृत्वा, पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we use the word 'affix (प्रत्यय)' in the sūtra? Without it, the sūtra would have run thus: नाथार्थे ऋयर्थे, and then any word, having the sense of ना, which has the force of 'except', 'various' or the sense of धा which means 'part or fold', when in composition with कृ or भू, would have taken the affix एमुल् and स्या. But that is not so. Thus the words हिरक् 'except' and पृथक् 'separately' have the sense of ना and धा respectively; as हिरक् कृत्वा, or पृथक् कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'when the upapada has the force of the affix *chvi*'? Observe नाना कृत्वा काष्ठानि गतः ।

The word अर्थ in नाथार्थ qualifies only the term धा, and not ना, for there are no other affix having the sense of ना, which is a single affix taught in V. 2. 27; while, as shown above, there are other affixes having the force of धा । The composition optionally takes place by II. 2. 22.

तूष्णीमि भुवः ॥ ६३ ॥ पदानि ॥ तूष्णीमि, भुवः, (क्त्वा-गमुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तूष्णीशब्दउपपदे भवतेर्धातोः स्याणमुजो भवतः ॥

63. The affixes 'ktvâ' and 'namul' are added to the root 'bhû', when the word 'tūshnim' (silently) is in composition.

Thus तूष्णींभूय, तूष्णीं भूत्वा, or तूष्णींभावम् 'having become silent'. The repetition of भू in this sūtra, shows that the anuvritti of कृ does not run into it and altogether ceases.

अन्वयानुलोम्ये ॥ ६४ ॥ पदानि ॥ अन्वयि, आनुलोम्ये, (भुवः, कत्वा-यामुलौ) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अन्वयशब्दपरे भवतेर्भासोरानुलोम्ये तत्राणमुलौ भवतः ॥

64. The affixes 'ktvā' and 'namul' come after the root 'bhū', when the word 'anvak', in the sense of being favourably disposed, is in composition.

The word आनुलोम्य means 'agreeable, friendly or favourably disposed, or doing according to the wish of another'. Thus अन्वग्भूय—अन्वग्भूया or अन्वग्भावमास्ते 'he is favourably disposed'.

Why do we say 'when meaning friendly'? Observe अन्वग्भूया तिष्ठति 'he remains behind'.

शकधृषज्ञाग्लाघटरभलभक्रमसहार्हास्त्यर्थेषु तुमुन् ॥ ६५ ॥ पदानि ॥

शक-धृष-ज्ञा-ग्ला-घट-रभ-लभ-क्रम-सह-अर्हा, अस्ति-अर्थेषु, तुमुन् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ शकादिषुपपरेषु अस्त्यर्थेषु वा धातुमात्रात् तुमुन्प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

65. The affix 'tumun' is added to every verb, when another verb having the sense of 'śak' (to be able), 'dhrish' (to make bold), 'jñâ' (to know), 'glai' (to be wearied), 'ghat' (to strive), 'rabh' (to begin), 'labh' (to get), 'kram' (to set about), 'sah' (to bear), 'arh' (to be pleased or to condescend), and 'as' (to be), is in construction.

The use of the Infinitive in तुमुन् formed by this rule, differs from that given in sūtra III. 3. 10. In that sūtra the Infinitive had the force of 'purpose' and here there is no such force. Moreover in this case there is an *upapada* in construction, though that *upapada* is a verb; in rule III. 3. 10, there was no such *upapada*.

Thus शक्नोमि भोक्तुम् 'I am able to eat'. Similarly जानाति—ज्नायति—घटते—भारभते—लभते—प्रक्रमते—सहते—अर्हति—अस्ति—भवति—or विद्यते भोक्तुम् 'he knows', he is wearied, he strives, he begins, he gets, he proceeds, he bears, he condescends or he is, to eat'.

This sūtra presents a knotty point. Bhattoji Dikshita says अर्थमहणमस्तिनैव सम्बध्यते अनन्तरत्वात् i. e. the sūtra gives roots from शक् to अर्ह and roots having the same sense as अस् 'to be'. But this is hardly consistent with the almost overwhelming evidence of usage. According to Dikshita's interpretation, पारय 'to be able' cannot be used with the Infinitive, but न पारयामि निवेदयितुम् (S. 4), पारयिष्यत्यत्रावर्त्यअपरादिभुम् (M. 3.) are instances from a standard author; similarly विद् 'to know' cannot be used with the Infinitive; but न च वेद सम्बन्ध इदुम्. न सा (R. VI. 30) is as good an instance. We must, therefore, suppose

that the sūtra indicates the existence of an interpretation connecting अर्थ with all the preceding roots; otherwise we shall have to condemn as wrong, all such constructions as those given above. Taking this view I have interpreted the sūtra, connecting अर्थ with all the above roots.—*Apte's Composition*.

पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषु ॥ ६६ ॥ पदानि ॥ पर्याप्ति-वचनेषु, अलम्-
अर्थेषु, (तुमुन्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ पर्याप्तिवचनेष्वलमर्थेषूपपत्तेषु धातोस्तुमुन् प्रत्ययो भवति ॥

66. The affix 'tumun' comes after a verb having in composition with it, 'alam' and its synonyms, when these words express 'to be capable of something'.

The word पर्याप्ति means 'capability, ability, fulness'. Thus निश्चितमपि जलादे प्रोद्धिष्यन् कः समर्थः (Hitopadesa) 'who is able to avoid that which is stamped on his forehead'. लोकान् अन्नं दग्धुम् हि तन्नपः (Kumāra II. 56) 'his penance is able to burn the worlds'. अस्ति मे विभ्रः सर्वं परिज्ञातुं (Vikramorvasi 2) 'I have power to know every thing'. भोक्तुम् प्रवीणः कुशलः पदुवां 'skilful in eating'.

Another interpretation of the sūtra is "the affix *tumun* is added to a verb, when it has in composition with it, the word पर्याप्ति or अलम् or a synonym of *alam* having the sense of *parāpti*. Thus पर्याप्तो भोक्तुम्, अलं भोक्तुम्, भोक्तुम् पारयति ।

Why do we say 'having the sense of capability'? Observe अलम्कृत्वा ।

Why do we say 'having the meaning of अलम्'? Observe पर्याप्तुम् भुङ्क्ते । The word शक् in the preceding sūtra has not the sense of अलम् in that aphorism. With the sense of अलम्, the present sūtra will apply: as शक्यमेवं कर्तुम् ।

कर्तरि कृत् ॥ ६७ ॥ पदानि ॥ कर्तरि, कृत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कृत्संज्ञकाः प्रत्ययाः कर्तरि कारकं भवन्ति ॥

67. The affixes called 'krit' are used in the sense of an agent.

The words formed by *krit* affixes have the sense of agency; when no other special sense has been assigned to them by any rule, then this rule will apply, and fix the force of the affix. This rule will not, therefore, apply to *krit* affixes like ख्युन् (III. 2. 5 and 6) to which a special sense has been assigned, but affixes like वृत् and हृच् &c. (III. 1. 133). Thus कारकः means a 'doer'; कर्ता 'an agent'; नन्दनः 'one who causes happiness'; ग्रही 'who seizes'; पचः 'who cooks'.

भव्येयप्रवचनीयोपस्थानीयजन्याप्लाव्यापात्या वा ॥ ६८ ॥ प० ॥

भव्य-नेय-प्रवचनीय-उपस्थानीय-जन्य-आप्लाव्य-आपात्याः, वा, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भव्यादयः शब्दाः कर्तरि वा निप्रात्यन्ते ॥

68. The words 'bhavya', 'geya', 'pravachanīya',

'upasthâniya', 'janya', 'âplâvya' and 'âpâtya' may optionally be used to denote the agent.

These words are formed by *kritya* affixes and therefore by rule III. 4. 70, they would generally denote an action in the abstract, and the object, but not the agent. The present sūtra, however, makes them denote optionally the agent also. In the alternative they denote the action-name and the object also. Thus भव्य may mean 'existed', 'existence', or 'one who exists'; गेय means 'a singer', 'a song', or 'singing'; प्रवचनीय means 'one who explains', 'what ought to be explained', or 'an explanation'; उपस्थानीय means 'who waits upon', 'what ought to be waited upon or served', or 'waiting upon or attendance'; जन्य = जायतेऽसौ or जन्यमनेन means 'one who gives birth i. e. a father', 'birth' or 'what is born'; आग्राव्य = आग्रावतेऽसौ or आप्नाव्यमनेन means 'who immerses', one 'immersing', or 'what ought to be immersed'; आपात्य = आपतत्यसौ or आपात्यमनेन means 'what falls upon', 'falling upon', or 'what ought to fall upon'. Thus गेयो माणवकः सामां 'the boy is the singer of the Sāma'; or गेयानि माणवकेन सामानि 'the boy ought to sing the Sāma'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुः स्वाध्यायस्य 'the guru is the expounder of the lesson'; प्रवचनीयो गुरुणा स्वाध्यायः 'the lesson ought to be explained by the teacher'; उपस्थानीयोऽन्तर्धासी गृतेः 'the pupil is the servant of the teacher'; उपस्थानीयः शिष्येण गुरुः 'the teacher ought to be served by the pupil'.

लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः ॥६९॥ पदानि ॥ लः, कर्मणि, च, भावे, च, अकर्मकेभ्यः, (कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लकारः कर्मणिकारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च, अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति, पुनश्चकारात् कर्तरि च ॥

69. The tense-affixes called 'la' are used in denoting the object and the agent; and after intransitive verbs, they denote the action as well as the agent.

The term ल् means the ten affixes known as लट्, लिट्, &c; ल् is the common element of them all; and these affixes, when stripped of all indicatory letters, leave behind only the letter ल् which is thus common name for them all. The लः in the sūtra, is the nominative plural of ल् । By the word च in the sūtra, we draw in the word कर्ता or 'agent' from the last sūtra into this. The force of these tense-affixes, when placed after transitive verbs is to denote the object and the agent; and when placed after intransitive verbs, is to denote either 'action' (भाव) or it may denote the 'agent'.

The verb itself denotes the action; to be or to do, generally; or to be or to do, in a particular manner. In the active voice the affix marks the agent; in the passive voice of a transitive verb, it marks the object; but in the passive form of an intransitive verb, the action itself. Thus गन्वते ग्रामो देवदत्तेन 'the village is gone to by Devadatta'; here ते of गन्वते denotes the object

and is in passive construction. गच्छति ग्रामं देवदत्तः 'Devadatta goes to the village'; here the affix ति of गच्छति denotes the agent, and the sentence is in active construction. The verb गम् being a transitive verb, can take both the active and passive constructions or, to use the Sanskrit technical phraseology, the tense-affixes, after transitive verbs, denote the agent and the object. They can never denote भाव or action after transitive verbs, that is, transitive verbs cannot be used impersonally. 'Let us now give examples of Intransitive verbs; आस्यते देवदत्तेन 'it is seated by Devadatta'; the verb आस्यते here denotes merely भाव or 'action'. In other words, we may call this an impersonal construction. आस्ते देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sits'; here the verb आस्ते denotes the agent or 'is in' the active voice.

Professor Bohtlingk translates the sūtra thus:—"A finite verb expresses the agent as well as the object; but the Intransitive verbs denote, in addition to that, the Impersonal idea of the action". The word भाव means action considered in the abstract.

तयोरेव कृत्यकखलर्याः ॥ ७० ॥ पदानि ॥ तयोः, एव, कृत्य-क-
खलर्याः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तयोरेव भावकर्मणोः कृत्यसंज्ञकाः कखलार्याश्च प्रत्यया भवन्ति ॥

70. The affixes called 'kritya' and the affix 'kta' and those that have the sense of 'khal', have only these last two senses, namely, an action and an object. (bhâva and karma).

The word तयोः 'of those two' refers to भाव 'an Impersonal act', and कर्म, 'object'. The word एव 'only' is used in the sūtra to exclude the word 'agent' from it. Thus कर्तव्यः कटो भवता 'the mat must be made by you'; भोक्तव्यः ओदनो भवता 'the rice must be eaten by you'. Here the affix तव्य has the force of denoting the object; we may, therefore, call it the Potential Passive Participle affix. So also आशितव्यं भवता 'thou must eat'; शयितव्यं भवता 'thou must lie down'. Here the sense of the affix तव्य being that of the action itself, which being Impersonal, is in the singular number, as it is one only, and neither male, nor female, there is, from the nature of the case, a singular affix, and the neuter gender is employed.

Similarly the affix क्त denotes both the object and the action; कृतः कटो भवता 'the mat is made by you'; भुक्त ओदनो भवता 'the rice is eaten by you'. Here त्त is used with the force of denoting the object and may be called the past passive participle.

Similarly ल may be used in denoting the mere act; आसितं भवत् 'you sat'; शयितं भवत् 'you lay down'.

Similarly the affixes having the sense of खल, (III. 3. 126) denote both

the object and the Impersonal act. In the following examples the affixes denote the object; ईषत्करः कटो भवता 'this mat is made, by little at a time, by you'; सुकरः 'what is made with ease'; दुष्करः 'what is made with difficulty'. In the following examples the affixes denote the act; ईषदाद्यभवं भवता and स्वाद्यभवं भवता।

After transitive verbs, the *kṛitya*, the *kṛa* and the *khalārtha* affixes only denote the object, but never denote the भाव or 'an Impersonal action'.

आदिकर्मणि क्तः कर्तरि च ॥ ७१ ॥ पदानि ॥ आदि-कर्मणि, क्तः, कर्तरि, च, (भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदिकर्मणि यः क्तो विहितः स कर्तरि भवति, चकारात् यथाप्राप्तं भावकर्मणोः ॥

71. The affix 'kta' also denotes the agent, when it expresses a beginning of an action.

The word आदिकर्मणि means 'the beginning of an action' or when the action signified by the roots, is intended to be expressed merely as having been simply begun. The force of च in the sūtra is to indicate that even when the beginning of an action is intended to be expressed, the क्त may be used to denote the act and the object as well. Thus, प्रकृतः कटं देवदत्तः here the agent is denoted. प्रकृतः कटो देवदत्तेन; here the object is denoted. प्रकृतम् देवदत्तेन; here mere action is denoted. Similarly प्रभुक्त ओदनं देवदत्तः (agent); प्रभुक्त ओदनो देवदत्तेन (object); प्रभुक्त देवदत्तेन (act).

गत्यर्थकर्मकश्लिषशीङ्स्थासवसजनरुहजीर्यतिभ्यश्च ॥ ७२ ॥ पदानि ॥ गत्यर्थ-अकर्मक-श्लिष-शीङ्-स्था-आस-वस-जन-रुह-जीर्यतिभ्यः, च, (क्तः, कर्तरि, भावे, कर्मणि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ गत्यर्थेभ्यो धातुभ्योऽकर्मकेभ्यः श्लिषादिभ्यश्च यः क्तः स कर्तरि भवति, चकाराद्यथाप्राप्तं च भावकर्मणोः ॥

72. The affix 'kta' is employed in denoting the agent as well as the act and the object, after verbs implying motion, after intransitive roots, and after the verbs 'ślish' (to embrace), 'śī' (to lie down), 'sthā' (to stand), 'ās' (to sit), 'vās' (to dwell), 'jan' (to produce), 'ruh' (to mount) and 'jri' (to grow old).

The phrase 'the act and the object' has been added into the sūtra by virtue of the word च. Thus, गतो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta is gone to the village' (agent); देवदत्तेन ग्रामः गतः 'the village was gone to by Devadatta (object); गतं देवदत्तेन 'Devadatta went' (act). The past participle forms from Intransitive verbs, denote the agent and the act only; or in other words, they are used impersonally and in the Active voice, but never in the Passive voice or denoting the object. Thus स्नानो भवान् 'you were wearied' (agent), स्नानं भवता (object); आसितो

* भवान् 'you sat' (agent), आसितं भवता (object); उपमिष्टो गुरुम् भवान् 'you embraced the teacher' (agent), उपमिष्टो गुरुः भवता 'the guru was embraced by you' (object), उपमिष्टम् भवता 'you embraced' (act); उपश्रयितो गुरुम् भवान् 'you lay near the guru' (agent), उपश्रयितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपश्रयितं भवता (act); उपस्थितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपस्थितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपस्थितं भवता (act); उपासितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), उपासितो गुरुः भवता (object), उपासितं भवता (act); अनूषितो गुरुम् भवान् (agent), अनूषितो गुरुः भवता (object), अनूषितं भवता (act); अनुजातो माणवको माणविकाम् (agent), अनुजातो माणवकेन माणविका (object), अनुजातं माणवकेन (act); आरुढो वृक्षो भवान् (agent), आरुढो वृक्षो भवता (object), आरुढं भवता (act); अनुजीर्णो वृषणो वैवस्वतेन (agent), अनुजीर्णो वृषणो वैवस्वतेन (object), अनुजीर्णो वैवस्वतेन (act). The verbs श्लिप् &c. become transitive with certain prepositions or *upasargas*, hence they have been mentioned here. Otherwise there was no necessity of mentioning them separately; as they, being intransitive verbs, when without prepositions, would be included in the word *akarmaka* of the sūtra.

दाशगोघ्नी,संप्रदाने ॥ ७३ ॥ पदानि ॥ दाश-गोघ्नी, संप्रदाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दाशगोघ्नी शब्दौ सम्प्रदाने कारके निपादयन्ते ॥

73. The words 'dāśa' and 'goghna' are irregularly formed, and the affix in these denotes the idea of the Dative or Recipient.

The word दाश comes from the root दाश् 'to give' by adding the affix अन् under rule III. 1. 134. This being a कृदन्त word would have otherwise denoted the agent by rule III. 4. 67 of this chapter. The present sūtra makes it denote the recipient or have the force of the dative case. Thus दाश means 'to whom something is given i. e. a servant'. Similarly goghna does not mean 'the killer of cow' but 'he on whose coming the cow is killed in order to give him, that is to say, a guest'. It is this irregularly-formed word goghna which is made applicable to the priests, guests, sons-in-law &c, and not the regularly-formed word goghna which means 'a killer of cow' or a 'Chandāl'. Thus दाशः = दाशन्ति तस्मै; गोघ्नः = तस्मै शत्रुं गां घ्नन्ति ॥

भीमादयोऽपादाने ॥ ७४ ॥ पदानि ॥ भीम-आदयः, अपादाने ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भीमादयः शब्दा अपादाने निपादयन्ते ॥

74. The words 'bhīma' &c. are irregularly formed and denote ablation.

These words are formed by *Unddi* affixes. Thus भी + मक् = भीम (Un. I. 145, 148); भी + बुक् + मक् = भीष्म (Un. I. 148) &c. By the next sūtra, *Unddi* words do not denote ordinarily the recipient and the ablation.

The present sūtra makes them do so in the case of भीमादि words. The following is a list of Bhīmādi words :—भीमः, भीष्मः, भयानकः (Un. III. 82), वरुः, वरुः,

(Un. I. 7), भूनिः (Un. IV. 45), रजः (Un. IV. 217), संस्कारः, संक्रन्दन, प्रपथनः, समुद्रः, सुचः, or सुवः (Un. II. 61), वृक् (Un. II. 62) गलतिः ।

ताभ्यामन्यत्रोणादयः ॥७५॥ पदानि ॥ ताभ्यां, अन्यत्र, उणादयः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ उणादयः शब्दास्ताभ्यामपादानसंप्रदानाभ्यामन्यत्र कारको भवन्ति ॥

75. The words formed by 'Unādi' affixes denote other ideas than these two, i. e., recipient and ablation.

The *Unādi* affixes being a subdivision of *krit* affixes, would have, by rule III. 4. 67, denoted the agent. By the present sūtra they are made to denote the object, the instrument and the location also. The word ताभ्यां has been used in the sūtra in order to include the word *sampradāna* also. For, had the sūtra been अन्यत्रोणादयः, only the *Apādāna kāraka* would have been excluded, as being the nearest; but not so the *Sampradāna kāraka*. Thus कृषितोऽसौ = कृषिः (Un. IV. 120) 'agriculture i. e. what is ploughed' (object); तन्यत इति = तन्तुः (Un. I. 69) 'a thread i. e. what is drawn out'; वृत्तमिति वर्त्तं (Un. IV. 145) 'a way i. e. what is established'; चरितं = चर्म (Un. IV. 145) 'skin' (in which they live).

क्तोऽधिकरणे च ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः ॥ ७६ ॥ पदानि ॥

क्तः, अधिकरणे, च, ध्रौव्य-गति-प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः, (क्तः, भावे, कर्मणि, कर्तरि) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ध्रौव्यगतिप्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यो यः क्तो विहितः सोऽधिकरणे भवति चकाराद्यानामं च ध्रौव्यार्थेभ्यः कर्तृभावाधिकरणेषु गत्यर्थेभ्यः कर्तृकर्मभावाधिकरणेषु, प्रत्यवसानार्थेभ्यः कर्मभावाधिकरणेषु ।

76. The affix 'kta' which is ordained after roots denoting fixedness (to cling to a place), motion and taking, gives the sense of location as well.

The verbs denoting ध्रौव्य or 'persisting in a place' are Intransitive verbs. The word *pratyavasāna* means 'eating' also; the force of च in the sūtra is that the affix *kta* expresses other relations also. Thus after verbs denoting 'fixedness' or *dhrauvyārtha* it denotes the agent, the act and the location; after verbs denoting 'motion' it gives the sense of agent, object, act and location; after verbs denoting 'taking or eating', it has the sense of object, act and location. Thus आसितो देवदत्तः 'Devadatta sat'; आसितं तेन 'sitting by him (act); इदमेवामासितम् 'this was their seat' (location); यातो देवदत्तो ग्रामम् 'Devadatta went to the village' (active); यातो देवदत्तेन ग्रामः (passive); यातुं देवदत्तेन (abstract); इदमेवां यातम् 'this is their place of going' (location); भुक्तो भोवो देवदत्तेन (passive); भुक्तो भोव देवदत्तः (active); देवदत्तेन भुक्तम् (abstract); इदमेवां भुक्तम् (location); कथं भुक्ता ब्राह्मणाः । पीता गावः । The आ in भुक्ता and पीता has the force of मत्तुप् (IV. 2. 85). भुक्तेष्वामसित or पीतेष्वामसित ।

लक्ष ॥ ७७ ॥ पदानि ॥ लक्ष्य ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लक्ष्येत्यवर्मधिकारः, यदित् कर्ममनुकल्पिष्यामीत्यर्थे लक्ष्येत्येवं लक्षितव्यम् ॥

77. In the place of 'la' will be substituted the affix which we shall announce hereafter.

This sūtra consists of one word लस्य meaning 'of ल'. It is an *adhikāra* sūtra. The word लस्य is the genitive singular of ल, the अ in ल being for the sake of pronunciation. The ल means the ten affixes: लट् present, लिट् perfect, लृट् first future, लुट् second future, लोट् imperative, लैट् Vedic subjunctive, लङ् imperfect, लिङ् potential and benedictive, लुङ् aorist, लृङ् conditional. Six of these tenses have indicatory ट्, and four have indicatory ङ् ।

Professor Bohtlingk translates this sūtra thus:—In the following sūtras, the word लस्य should be supplied to complete the sense, i. e. the phrase 'in the place of all those endings which are known as the Personal endings of various tenses and moods, and are known in their totality as ल' ।

तिप्सफिसिप्थस्थमिब्वस्मस्तातामभ्यासाथामध्वमिड्वहिमहिङ्
॥ ७८ ॥ पदानि ॥ तिप्-तस्-फि-सिप्-थस्-थ-मिप्-वस्-मस्-त-आताम्-भ-
यास्-आथाम्-ध्वम्-इट्-वहि-महिङ्, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लस्य तिबाद्य भारेण भवन्ति ॥

78. The following are the substitutes of 'la': —
'tip', 'tas', 'jhi'; 'sip', 'thas', 'tha'; 'mip', 'vas', 'mas'; 'ta',
'âtām' 'jha'; 'thâs', 'âthâm', 'dhvam'; 'it', 'vahi', mahiñ.

These are the well-known Conjugational-affixes, called also Personal endings, and are ordained generally after all the ten tenses. But as a matter of fact, they undergo various additions and alterations in the different tenses. Some of these changes have already been mentioned before; see sūtra II 4. 85, III. 1. 33, &c. Others will be mentioned hereafter. It is only in the present tense or लट् that the affixes as above given, may be applied to the root, in some cases, without any alteration.

The प in तिप्, सिप् and मिप् is for the sake of accent (III. 1. 4); the ट् in इट् for distinguishing it in the sūtra इटोऽण् (III. 4. 106); and the ङ् in महिङ् for forming the *Pratyāhāra* सिङ् which is the general name of the above 18 conjugational or personal affixes. Stripped off their indicatory letters, the following table shows the conjugational affixes as added under various tenses:—

PRESENT TENSE.—लट् ।

Parasmaipada.				Atmanepada.		
	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	मि	वस्	मस्	ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	सि	थस्	य	से	भाये	ध्वे
3rd. "	ति	तस्	भन्ति	ते	भाते	भन्ते

IMPERFECT OR FIRST PRETERITE.—लङ् ।

Parasmaipada.

Atmanepada.

	Sing.	Dual.	Plural.		Sing.	Dual.	Plural.
1st. pers.	अम्	व	म		इ	वहि	महि
2nd. "	स्	तम्	त		थास्	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	त्	ताम्	भन्		त	आताम्	भन्त

POTENTIAL OR OPTATIVE.—विधिलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	याम्	याव	याम		ईय	ईवहि	ईमहि
2nd. "	यास्	यातम्	यान		ईयास्	ईयाथाम्	ईध्वम्
3rd. "	यात्	याताम्	युस्		ईत	ईयाताम्	ईरन्

IMPERATIVE.—लोट् ।

1st. pers.	भानि	भाव	आम		ऐ	भावहे	आमहे
2nd. "	हि	तम्	स		स्व	आथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	तु	ताम्	भन्तु		ताम्	आताम्	भन्ताम्

PERFECT OR SECOND PRETERITE.—लिट् ।

1st. pers.	भ	व	म		ए	वहे	महे
2nd. "	थ	भथुस्	भ		से	आथे	ध्वे
3rd. "	भ	अतुस्	उस्		ए	आते	इरे

FIRST FUTURE OR DEFINITE FUTURE.—लुट् ।

1st. pers.	तासि	तास्वस्	तासिस्		ताहे	तास्वहे	तासिहे
2nd. "	तासि	तास्यस्	तास्य		तासे	तासाथे	ताध्वे
3rd. "	ता	तारी	तारस्		ता	तारी	तारस्

SECOND FUTURE OR INDEFINITE FUTURE.—लृट् ।

1st. pers.	स्यामि	स्यावस्	स्यामस्		स्ये	स्यावहे	स्यामहे
2nd. "	स्यसि	स्यथस्	स्यथ		स्यसे	स्यथे	स्यध्वे
3rd. "	स्यति	स्यतस्	स्यन्ति		स्यते	स्येते	स्यन्ते

AORIST OR THIRD PRETERITE.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	सम्	स्व	स्त		सि	स्वहि	स्तहि
2nd. "	सीस्	स्तम्	स्त		स्थास्	साथाम्	ध्वम्
3rd. "	सीत्	स्ताम्	सुस्		स्त	साताम्	स्त

PRÆCATIVE OR BENEDEICTIVE.—भाशीलिङ् ।

1st. pers.	यासम्	यास्व	यास्त		सीय	सीवहि	सीमहि
2nd. "	यास्	यास्तम्	यास्त		सीषास्	सीयास्थाम्	सीध्वम्
3rd. "	यात्	यास्ताम्	यासुस्		सीष	सीयास्ताम्	सीरन्

CONDITIONAL.—लृङ् ।

1st. pers.	स्यम्	स्याव	स्याम		स्ये	स्यावहि	स्यामहि
2nd. "	स्यस्	स्यतम्	स्यत		स्यथास्	स्येथाम्	स्यध्वम्
3rd. "	स्यत्	स्यताम्	स्यग		स्यत	स्येताम्	स्यन्त

॥ १७ ॥ दित आत्मनेपदानां टेरे ॥ ७९ ॥ पदानि ॥ दितः, आत्मनेपदानाम्, टेः, ए, (लस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो लकारस्य स्थाने आत्मनेपदानि तेषां टेरेकारदेशो भवति ॥

79. The substitute 'e' replaces the last vowel, with the consonant that follows it, of the 'Atmanepada' substitutes of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'ṭ'.

The ल or the tense-affixes that have an indicatory ṭ are six:—जट्, लिट्, लुट्, लृट्, लोट्, लैट् । In these tenses the final portion called लि of the Atmanepada affixes is changed into ए । Thus त becomes ते, आताम् becomes आते, झ becomes झे &c, as shown in the foregoing table.

The affixes ज्ञानच्, and कानच् are also Atmanepada affixes. Why are not their finals changed into ए as in पञ्चमानः, यज्ञरानः ? Because the word आत्मनेपदानो in the sūtra refers by context to the Atmanepada affixes included in the Pratyāhāra लिङ् ।

॥ १८ ॥ यासस्से ॥ ८० ॥ पदानि ॥ यासः, से, (लस्य, दितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ दितो लकारस्य यस्यास्तस्य संशय आदेशो भवति ॥

80. The word 'se' is the substitute of 'thās' in those tenses that have an indicatory 'ṭ'.

In the six tenses already mentioned in the last sūtra, the Atmanepada यास् is replaced by से, as we have already shown in the preceding table. Thus पञ्चसे, वेचिसे, पक्तासे, पद्यसे ।

॥ १९ ॥ लिटस्तभयोरेशिरेच् ॥ ८१ ॥ पठ ॥ लिटः, त-भयोः, एश्, इरेच् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशोस्तद्ययोर्वासांख्यमेच् इरेच् इत्येतावादेशौ भवतः ॥

81. The words 'eś' and 'irech' are the substitutes of 'ta' and 'jha' respectively in the Perfect tense.

The श् of एश् indicates that it replaces the whole of the affix त् (I. i. 55). The च् of इरेच् is for the sake of accent (VI. i. 165). Thus वेचे, वेचाते वेचिरे । See the foregoing table of tenses for the Atmanepada.

परस्मैपदानां शलतुसुस्यलधुसखल्वमाः ॥ ८२ ॥ पदानि ॥ परस्मैपदानां, शल्-अतुस्-उस्-यल्-अधुस्-अ-गल्व-व-माः, (लिटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां परस्मैपदसंज्ञकानां ध्यासाख्यं लिङादेशो नवादेशो भवति ॥

82. In the room of the Parasmaipada affixes, the following are substituted in the Perfect tense:

Sing.	nal (अ)	thal (य)	nal (अ)
Duat.	atus (अतुः)	athus (अधुः)	ya (य)
Plural.	uls (उः)	a (अ)	ma (म)

The indicatory ल् in लङ् and थल् is for the sake of accent (VI. 1. 193). The indicatory ए is for the sake of causing वृद्धि (VII. 2. 25): Thus पपाच, पेचत्, पेचुः, पेचिथ or पपक्थ, पेचयुः, पेच, पपाच or पपच, पेचिव पेचिम ।

विदो लटो वा ॥ ८३ ॥ पदानि ॥ विदः, लटः, वा, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थलथसखल्त्रसाः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ विद ज्ञाणे, अस्माद्धृत्तोः परेषां लडादेशानां परस्मैपदानां एजादयो नव विकल्पे-
नादेशा भवन्ति ॥

83. The above nine affixes of the Perfect tense are optionally added in the Present tense also after the verb 'vid'.

Thus:—

Singular.	वेद or वेत्ति	वेत्थ or वेत्सि	वेद or वेप्ति
Dual.	विदत्तुः or विन्तः	विदथुः or वित्थः	विद्व or विद्वः
Plural.	विदुः or विदन्ति	विद or वित्थ	विम or विमः

ब्रुवः पञ्चानामादित आहो ब्रुवः ॥ ८४ ॥ पदानि ॥ ब्रुवः, पञ्चानाम्, आदितः, आहः, ब्रुवः, (परस्मैपदानां, खलतुसुस्थल०, लटः, वा) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ ब्रुवः परस्य लटः परस्मैपदानां पञ्चानामादिभूतानां पञ्चैव एजादय आदेशा भवन्ति, नत्सन्निधौ न च ब्रुव आहशब्द आदेशो भवति ॥

84. Instead of the first five tense-affixes, in the Present tense coming after the verb 'brû' (to speak), there may optionally be the affixes of the Perfect; 'âha' being, at the same time, the substitute in the room of 'brû'.

Thus आह 'he says'; आहतुः 'they two say'; आहुः 'they say'; आत्य 'thou sayst'; आहत्युः 'you two say'; the rest like ब्रू as shown below:—

Singular.	आह or ब्रवीति	आत्य or ब्रवीषि	ब्रवीमि
Dual.	आहतुः or ब्रूतः	आहत्युः or ब्रूथः	ब्रूवः
Plural.	आहुः or ब्रुवन्ति	ब्रूथ	ब्रूमः

The word आदितः 'first' is used in the sūtra to indicate that the substitution should not take place in the case of the last four affixes. The repetition of the word ब्रूवः in the sūtra indicates the original expression which is to be replaced; and shows that this change occurs in the Parasmaipada affixes only.

लोटी लङ्वत् ॥ ८५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लोटः, लङ्वत् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटो लङ्वत्कार्यं भवति ॥

85. The personal endings of the Imperative are as those of the Imperfect.

This is an भतिदेश sūtra; as in the लङ् there are the affixes ताम्, तम्, त, इ and न, so also in the लोटि । Thus पचताम्, पचतम्, पचत, पचाद्, पचाम ।

Q.—If लोट् is like लङ्, why have we not the augment अट्, आट्, or the substitution of जुस् for हि (see III. 4. 111) in the case of लोट् also?

A.—The वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is, understood in this sūtra also, so that the analogy between लोट् and लङ् is a limited analogy and does not make all the rules which are applicable to लङ्, equally applicable to लोट् also.

46 एरुः ॥ ८६ ॥ पदानि ॥ एः, उः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटोदेशानामिकारस्य उकारोदेशो भवति ॥

वार्तिकम् ॥ हिन्दोरुत्वप्रतिषेधो वक्तव्यः ॥

86. In the Imperative, 'u' is substituted for 'i'.

Thus ति becomes तु, अन्ति becomes अन्तु, as have already been given in the above table.

Vart.—Prohibition must be stated in the case of affixes हि and नि of लोट् । In the case of these two affixes, the इ is not changed into उ, either because they have been so taught in the sūtras, or because the वा of sūtra III. 4. 83 is understood here also and makes this rule an optional rule of limited scope as in the last sūtra (व्यवस्थित विभाषा). Thus पचतु, पचन्तु ।

In fact, this sūtra is confined to ति and हि only, and does not apply to सि to which the next sūtra applies.

57 सेह्यपिच्च ॥ ८७ ॥ सेः, हि, अपित्, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटोदेशस्य सेह्य इत्ययमोदेशो भवति ॥

87. In the Imperative, 'hi' is substituted for 'si', and this has not the indicatory 'p' of 'sip', i. e., it is acutely accented.

The substitute being like the original expression (I. 1. 56), हि substituted for सिप्, would have been a पित् affix, but for this sūtra, which clearly states in its latter portion that this हि is not to be regarded as having an indicatory प ।

Thus लुनीहि, पुनीहि, राधुहि, तक्षुहि ; and as this affix is अपित्, rule I. 2. 4 makes it कित् also, and thereby no guṇa takes place.

वा छन्दसि ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, छन्दसि, (सेह्यपित्, लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आदेशाद्वन्दसि विषये हिशब्दो वाऽपि क्ववति ॥

88. In the Vedas, the substitute 'hi' is optionally treated as not having an indicatory 'p'.

The result is that in the Chhandas the second person singular of लोट् has two forms as प्रीणाहि or प्रीणीहि; युयुधि or युयोधि, हि being substituted for सि in the Vedas, by rule (VI. 4. 103) as in the following verse:

अम् नयं सुपथाराधेऽभूस्तान्विभानिहिव युयुनानिविद्वन् ।

यु योऽयस्मदमुदराणमेनोभूचिद्वान्ते तमऽउक्तिविधेम ॥

— Rig 1. 189. 1 ; Yajur Veda, 40. 16.

53 मेनिः ॥ ८८ ॥ पदानि ॥ मेः, निः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटोदादेशस्य मेनिरादेशो भवति ॥

89. In the Imperative, 'ni' is substituted for the affix 'mi'.

This supersedes the rule relating to the change of इ into उ, and the rule of *lopa*; see the table; thus पचानि, पचानि ।

151 आमेतः ॥ ९० ॥ पदानि ॥ आम्, एतः, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य आदेश्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

90. In the Imperative 'âm' is substituted for what would have substituted otherwise 'e' by III. 4. 79.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix ए. In the Atmanepada, आम् is substituted for ए in the Imperative; see the table; पचताम्, पचेताम्, पचन्ताम् ।

सवाभ्यां वामौ ॥ ९१ ॥ पठ ॥ स-वाभ्यां, व-अमौ, (लोटः, एतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सकारवकाराभ्यामुसरस्य लोट्सम्बन्धिन एकारस्य यथासंख्यं व भम् इत्येतावादेशौ

भवतः ॥

91. For such an 'e' coming after 's', is substituted 'v', and for that coming after 'v', is substituted 'am', in the Imperative.

This supersedes the आम् substitution of the last sūtra. Thus, for से we have सव, and for ववे we have ववम्; see the table; thus पचस्व, पचध्वम् ।

54 आहुत्तमस्य पितृ ॥ ९२ ॥ पदानि ॥ आट्, उत्तमस्य, पितृ, च, (लोटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट्सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्याङगमो भवति स चीत्तमपुरुषः पितृवति ॥

92. In the Imperative 'âṭ' is the augment of the affixes of the first person and the termination is as if it had an indicatory 'p'.

This is clear. Thus in the Parasmaipada, we have आनि, आव, आम् । Thus करवाणि, करवाव, करवाम; करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

एत ऐ ॥ ९३ ॥ पदानि ॥ एतः, ऐ, (लोटः, उत्तमस्य) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लोटुत्तमसम्बन्धिन एकारस्य ऐकारादेशो भवति ॥

93. The 'a' is substituted for 'e' forming part of the affixes of the first person of the Imperative.

This relates to the Atmanepada affix. Thus करवे, करवावहे, करवामहे ।

But the ए resulting from sandhi, is not to be changed into ऐ. Thus पचाव + इवम् = पचावइवम्, पचाम + तुवम् = पचामेतुवम्. Here, no doubt, the ए belongs to the Imperative by VI. 1, 85, being the substitute of अ of म and व. But this is not to be changed into ऐ on the maxim that this ए is the result of a वृद्धिरङ्ग rule, for

the rule of sandhi (VI. I. 87), is a बहिरङ्ग rule, while the present sūtra is an अन्तरङ्ग rule; because of the following Paribhāṣā, असिद्धं बहिरङ्गमन्तरङ्गे 'that which is Bahiranga is regarded as not having taken effect, when an Antaranga rule is to be applied.

लेटो ऽडाटौ ॥ ९४ ॥ पदानि ॥ लेटः, अट्-आटौ ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेटोऽडाटावागमौ भवतः पर्यायेण ।

94. The augments 'at' and 'āt' are added to the personal endings of the Vedic Subjunctive.

The augments अट् and आट् are not to be added at once, but by turns. Thus जुष् + सिप् + अट् + वृ = जोषिषत्; तारिषत्, मन्त्रिषत्; similarly वत् + आट् + ति = पतांसि; व्यावयाति । See III. I. 34 for the addition of सिप् in the above.

आत ऐ ॥ ९५ ॥ पदानि ॥ आतः, ऐ, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धित आकारस्य ऐकारदेशो भवति ॥

95. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is the substitute of 'ē' in the first and second person dual of the Atmanepada.

Thus मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे, करयैते, करयैथे । Why is not the augment आट् changed into ऐ? Because otherwise the rule enjoining आट् would be superfluous.

वैतोऽन्यत्र ॥ ९६ ॥ पदानि ॥ वा, ऐतः, अन्यत्र, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धित एकारस्य वा ऐकारदेशो भवति अन्यत्रेत्यनन्तरं विधिरपेक्ष्यते ।
आत ऐ इत्येतद्विषयं वर्जयित्वा एत ऐ भवति ॥

96. In the Subjunctive, 'ai' is optionally the substitute of 'e', in other places than those mentioned in the last sūtra.

Thus शयै, ईशै, &c, in the following examples:—सप्ताहानि शयै, अहमेव पशूनामीशै, महश्च एव वो महा गृह्यान्तै, महेश्वर्यान्त्येव वः पात्राण्युच्यन्तै । And in the alternative we have simply ए, as यत्र क्व च ते मनो वृत्तम् वृषसउत्तरम् ।

Why do we say 'in other places than those governed by the last sūtra'? Observe मन्त्रयैते, मन्त्रयैथे ।

इतश्च लोपः परस्मैपदेषु ॥ ९७ ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, लोपः, परस्मै-पदेषु, (लेटः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लेट् सम्बन्धित इकारस्य परस्मैपदविषयस्य लोपो भवति यानुवृत्तेः पक्षे अवयवमपि भवति ॥

97. In the Parasmaipada affixes the 'i' is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

The वा of the last sūtra is understood here also. Thus जोषिषत् (Rig. II. 35. 1). तारिषत् (Rig. I. 25. 12). मन्त्रिषत् । In the alternative, it is not elided as पताति विष्णुन् (Rig. VII. 25. 1). उरधि व्यावयाति । The इ of इट्, बहि and महि of the Atmanepada are not elided.

सु उत्तमस्य ॥ ९८ ॥ पदानि ॥ सः, उत्तमस्य, (लेटः, वा, लोपः)॥ •

वृत्तिः ॥ लोट् सम्बन्धिन उत्तमपुरुषस्य सकारस्य वा लोपो भवति ॥

98. The 's' of the first person is optionally elided in the Subjunctive.

As करवाव or करवावः, करवाम or करवामः । The first person is used in the sūtra to indicate that the स् is not elided in any other person.

नित्यं डितः ॥ ९९ ॥ प० ॥ नित्यं, डितः, (लस्य, उत्तमस्य, सः, लोपः)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डितो लकारस्य य उत्तमस्तस्य नित्यं सकारस्य लोपो भवति ॥

99. There is always elision of the 's' of the first person of the affixes that come in the room of that 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

The tense-affixes having indicatory इ are four, namely, लङ्, लिङ्, लृङ् and नृङ् । In their case, the elision of स् is not optional as was the case in the last sūtra, but compulsory. See the table already given. In other words, in the Imperfect, Potential, Aorist and Conditional, the स् is elided in the 1st person. Thus अपचाव, अपचाम । The word नित्यं 'always' is used in order to stop the anuvṛitti of the word 'optionally'.

इतश्च ॥ १०० ॥ पदानि ॥ इतः, च, (डितः, नित्यं, लोपः, लस्य)॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिल्लकारसम्बन्धिन इकारस्य नित्यं लोपो भवति ॥

100. And there is elision of the 'i' of that Pa-
rasmaipada affix which is the substitute of a 'la' having an indicatory 'n'.

Thus, for ति we have त्, for सि we have स्, &c, as in the above table. The इ of Atmanepada is, however, not elided, because the anuvṛitti of Parasmaipada is understood here from sūtra III. 4. 97. Thus अपचत्, अपाक्षीत्, but अपचावहि and अपचामहि ।

तस्यस्थमिजां तान्तंतामः ॥ १०१ ॥ पदानि ॥ तस्-यस्-य-मिपाम्,
तां-तं-त-आमः, (डितः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ डिल्लकारसम्बन्धिनां चतुर्णां यथासंख्यं तानाद्य आदेशा भवन्ति ॥

101. The affixes 'tām', 'tam', 'ta' and 'âm' are the substitutes of the four affixes 'tas', 'thas', 'tha' and 'tup' respectively, of any 'la' which has an indicatory 'n'.

This we have shown in the above table. Thus अपचतान्, अपचतम्, अपचत, अपचम्, अपाक्तान्, अपाक्तम्, अपाक्त, अपाक्तम् ।

लिङ्स्सीयुट् ॥ १०२ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङः, सीयुट् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशानां सीयुडागदो भवति ॥

102. The personal endings of the Potential and the Benedictive take the augment 'sīyut'.

The **इ** of **सीयुट्** is indicatory and shows that this augment is to be placed before the affixes (I. 1. 46). The **उ** is for the sake of pronunciation; this rule applies to the Atmanepada affixes. In the Potential, the **स्** of this augment is elided by VII. 2. 79, and the **य**, also, before a personal-ending beginning with a consonant, is dropped according to VI. 1. 66. In this way, we have **पचेल**, **पच्येताम्**, and by III. 4. 105, **पचेरन्**. In the Benedictive, the augment retains its full form, only so far as it is not governed by VI. 1. 66. Thus **पच्यीट**, **पच्यीयास्ताम्** **पच्यीरन्** ।

१०२ यासुट् परस्मैपदेषु दातो ङिच् ॥ १०३ ॥ पदानि ॥ यासुट्, परस्मै-पदेषु, उदात्तः, ङित्, च, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ परस्मैपदेष्वयं लिङो यासुडागमो भवति सीयुटोऽपवादः सचोदात्तो भवति, ङिच् ॥

103. When the Parasmaipada affixes of the Potential follow, then 'yâsut' acutely accented, is their augment, and the termination is regarded as having an indicatory 'n'.

This debars **सीयुट्**; the **उ** of **यासुट्** is indicatory; the real augment is **यास्**. All augments being *anudatta*, the present sūtra therefore especially uses the word *udatta* to show that this augment is an exception to the general rule. Though **ङिच्** has an indicatory **ङ्**, and therefore by the rule I. 1. 56, its substitutes would also be regarded as having an indicatory **ङ्**, the repetition of the word **ङित्** in this sūtra shows the existence of the *paribhāṣā* "that the **ङ्** belonging to **ङ** does not influence its substitutes;" in other words, the substitutes of **लङ्**, **लिङ्**, **लुङ्** and **लृङ्** are not to be regarded as having an indicatory **ङ्** (**लकाराश्रयङित्वमादेशानां न भवति**). In the Potential, the **स्** of **यासुट्** is elided by VII. 2. 79. So we get the forms **कुर्यात्**, **कुर्याताम्**, and by applying III. 4. 103 and VI. 1. 96, **कुर्युस्**. For the Benedictive **ङिच्**, the following sūtra applies.

६६ किदाशिषि ॥ १०४ ॥ पदानि ॥ कित्, आशिषि, (लिङः, यासुट्, उदात्तः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि यो लिङ् तस्य यासुडागमो भवति सचोदात्तः किङ्कवति ॥

104. The augment 'yâsut' comes after that 'liñ' also which denotes benediction, and it is acutely accented, and the substitutes of this 'liñ' are as if they had an indicatory 'k'.

The **कित्** of this sūtra refers to the personal affixes of the Benedictive mood and not to the augment **यासुट्**, for that would have been unnecessary,

being already कृत् by the last rule. कृत् and कृत् are equal in prohibiting guṇa and vṛiddhi, but कृत् is distinguished from कृत् inasmuch as कृत् causes the guṇa of जागृ (VII. 3. 85), and also there is distinction between them with regard to the change of semi-vowel to vowel (VI. 1. 15 and 16). Thus इष्यात्, इष्यास्तात्, इष्यातुः, and जागर्यात्, जागर्यास्तात् and जागर्यातुः। In the Potential, वक्ष्यात् (no samprasârana); in the Benedictive, उच्येयात् (vocalisation). So also जागृयात् in the Potential.

अस्य रन् ॥ १०५ ॥ पदानि ॥ अस्य, रन्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ अस्य लिङादेशस्य रन्वित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

105. The affix 'ran' is the substitute of 'jha' in the 'Lii' (Potential and Benedictive).

The झ in other places, is replaced generally by भन्त (VII. 1. 3), but in लिङ्, it is replaced by रन्। Thus पचेरन्, यजेरन्, कृषीरन्।

इटोऽत् ॥ १०६ ॥ पदानि ॥ इटः, अत्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य इटोऽदित्ययमादेशो भवति ॥

106. Short 'a' is the substitute of 'i' of the Atmanepada first person singular in the Potential and Benedictive.

Thus पचेय, यजेय, कृषीय, हृषीय।

Q.—In the sūtra, the word अत् is used, and the final त् belongs to the विसृक्ति, therefore by rule I. 3. 4, this त् is not indicatory; why is it made so?

A.—This त् is not any portion or member of the substitute अत्; it is added to अ merely for the sake of euphony.

The इट् refers to the आत्मनेपद affix of the first person singular; and not to the augment इट् on the strength of the maxim अर्थवद्ग्रहणे नानर्थकस्य। A combination of letters capable of expressing a meaning denotes, whenever it is employed in grammar, that combination of letters in so far as it possesses that meaning, but it does not denote the same combination of letters void of a meaning.

सुट् तिथोः ॥ १०७ ॥ पदानि ॥ सुट्, ति-थोः, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङ् संबन्धिनोऽस्त्कारथकारयोः सुडागमो भवति ॥

107. The augment 'sut' is added to the affixes 'tā' and 'tīa' when part of the 'affixes of the Potential and Benedictive.

The letters त् and थ are the objects to which the augment सुट् is to be added; provided that the त् and थ are the initial of the affixes employed in लिङ्।

The augment सुट् is applied to लिङ् as such; in other words, लिङ् is

there the आगमी; but in the case of सुट्, लिङ् is not the आगमी, but त and थ are the आगमी। The scope of सीयुट् and सुट् being thus different, one does not debar the other.

In the sūtra, the word ति is used; the इ of ति is merely for the sake of pronunciation. Thus कृषीट्, कृषीयास्ताम् कृषीरन्, कृषीष्टा; कृषीयास्याम्। In the Potential, the स् is elided by VII. 3. 79.

भेर्जुस् ॥ १०८ ॥ पदानि ॥ भेः, जुस्, (लिङः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिङादेशस्य भेर्जुस् आदेशो भवति ॥

108. In the Potential and Benedictive, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', the ending of the first person plural Parasmaipada.

This debars अन्त (VII. 1. 3); thus पच्युः, यजेयुः।

सिजभ्यस्तेविदिभ्यश्च ॥ १०९ ॥ सिच्-अभ्यस्त-विदिभ्यः, च, (भेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिचः परस्य अभ्यस्त संज्ञक्यो वेत्तेभ्योत्तरस्य जुसादेशो भवति ॥

109. (In those tenses which are marked with an indicatory 'n') 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', when it comes after an Aorist in 'sieh', or the Imperfect of a reduplicated verb, or the root 'vid' (to know).

This applies to tenses having इ other than that of लिङ्, namely, the लङ् and लृङ्।

सिच् is employed in forming the first Aorist. The reduplicated verbs, as well as the verb विद्, form their third person plural in जुस्, in the tenses other than लिङ्, and those that take सिच्। The word इति of sūtra III. 4. 99, is understood here also; and therefore this rule is restricted to the Imperfect (लृङ्) of the reduplicated verb. Thus of सिच्, we have अकार्षुः, अहर्षुः। Similarly, after the Imperfect of the reduplicated verbs, we have अबिभ्युः, अनिह्युः, अजागरुः। In the case of विद्, we have अबिबुः।

आतः ॥ ११० ॥ पदानि ॥ आतुः, (भेर्जुस्, सिच्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ सिच आकारान्ताच्च परस्य भेर्जुसादेशो भवति ॥

110. (When 'sieh' is elided), 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', after an Aorist stem which ends in long 'ā'.

The सिच् is elided by rule (II. 4. 77). Thus अहुः, अयुः, अस्युः। In other words, in those cases, where सिच् is elided by rules II. 4. 77, 78 and 79, only जुस् is the substitute of हि where the verbs end in long ā। In other words, this sūtra restricts the scope of the last sūtra, by which after every सिच्, जुस् was to replace हि।

The Present sūtra says that after verbs in which सिच् has been elided,

जुस् does not replace झि in the case of any other verb than that which ends in long आ; it is thus a *niyama* rule.

Thus, by rule II. 4. 77, सिच् is elided after the verb भू, but as भू does not end in long आ, its 3rd person plural Aorist will not be in जुस्. Thus, अभुवन्. Here, by the last rule, and on the maxim that 'though सिच् is elided, yet its force remains (I. i. 62)', जुस् would have replaced झि; but the present sūtra prohibits that. But where the सिच् is not elided, there, of course, जुस् does come. Thus अकार्षुः, अहार्षुः।

लङ्: शाकटायनस्य ॥ १११ ॥ पदानि ॥ लङ्: , शाकटायनस्य, (भेः, जुस्, आतः) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ भाकारान्तादुत्तरस्य लडादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

111. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect of the roots which end in a long 'ā'.

Thus अभुः, भवः। In the alternative, we have भयान् and भवान्।

Why is लङ् repeated here, when the context would have supplied this word; for the sūtra applies to डित् tenses, of which लृङ् being dealt with in the last, would leave लङ् only to be dealt with by this aphorism, for no other डित् tense (like लिङ् or लृङ्) can end in आ? The repetition shows that the rule applies to those affixes which come after लङ् as लङ्, and not to those which come after another tense which is treated like लङ्. Thus लोट् is treated like लङ्, but for the purposes of this rule, लोट् would not be so treated. Thus the झि of लीट् will not be changed into जुस् by III. 4. 109. Thus बिभ्यन्, जायन्, विदन्तु। The word एव has been used in the sūtra, for the sake of the subsequent sūtra.

द्विषश्च ॥ ११२ ॥ पदानि ॥ द्विषः, च, (लङ्: , शाकटायनस्य, झेर्जुस्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ द्विषः परस्य लडादेशस्य झेर्जुसादेशो भवति शाकटायनस्याचार्यस्य मतेन ॥

112. In the opinion of Sākaṭāyana only, 'jus' is the substitute of 'jhi', in the Imperfect after the verb 'dvish' (to hate).

Thus अद्विषुः। But according to others, अद्विषन्।

तिङ्शित्सार्वधातुकम् ॥ ११३ ॥ पठ ॥ तिङ्-शित्, सार्वधातुकम् ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ तिङ्: शितश्च प्रत्ययाः सार्वधातुकसंज्ञा भवन्ति ॥

113. All personal endings (III. 4. 78) and all affixes with an indicatory 'ś', are called 'sārvadhātuka'.

Of course, this applies to the affixes which have been already treated before, namely, the affixes which relate to verbal roots and not to तद्धित affixes &c. Thus, स्वर्गति, रोदिति, पचमान्, पचयन्तः। लिङ्, and भाशीर्लिङ् are exceptions.

३७ आर्द्धधातुकं, शेषः ॥ ११४ ॥ पदानि ॥ आर्द्धधातुकम्, शेषः ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट् शित्थ वर्जयित्वाऽन्यः प्रत्ययः शेषो धातुसंशब्देन विहित आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

114. The remainder, i. e. the affixes other than 'tiñ', and those with an indicative 's' subjoined to a verbal root, are called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

Thus the affixes लृ, लृप्, लृप्, लृप्, &c. are आर्द्धधातुक affixes as in the following words—लृविना, लृवितुम्, लृवितव्यम् । Here the augment इद् is added, because of these affixes being called ārdhadhātuka by VII. 2. 35.

The word धातोः whose anuvṛtti began with sūtra III. 1. 91, is understood here also. So that the affixes in relation to the verbal roots get the name of sārva dhātuka and ārdhadhātuka; the affixes applied to nouns do not get these names. Thus the case-affix भ्याम् when added to the noun लू, is not called an ārdhadhātuka affix, and therefore we have लूभ्याम्, लूभिः &c. Had these affixes been ārdhadhātuka, they would have caused the *guna* of the base (VII. 3. 84). Similarly the affixes स् and न् in the words वृत्तस् and वृत्तना are not ārdhadhātuka affixes. Had they been so, there would have been the insertion of the augment इद् (VII. 2. 35).

Similarly in sūtra III. 1. 5. the affix सन् is used without changing the sense, after the roots गुप्, तिज् and क्ति । But as this affix is added without the enunciation of the word धातोः as it is in sūtra III. 1. 7, this सन् is not called ārdhadhātuka, and does not take the augment इद्, as जुगुप्सते ।

लिट् च ॥ ११५ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिट्, च, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ लिट् शित्थ वर्जयित्वाऽर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

115. The personal endings of the Perfect are also called 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars them from being called sārva dhātuka and, being ārdhadhātuka, some of them take the augment इद्, as वेचिथ, शेकिथ । Moreover by their being ārdhadhātuka they do not admit of the Vikaraṇas शप् &c.

So from रल्ले (रल्ल, VI. 1. 45) we have जल्ले; here the आ is elided by VI. 4. 64, the affix being treated as ārdhadhātuka; similarly मल्ले from रल्ले ।

लिङ् आशिषि ॥ ११६ ॥ पदानि ॥ लिङ्, आशिषि, (आर्द्धधातुकम्) ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ आशिषि विषये यो लिङ् स आर्द्धधातुकसंज्ञो भवति ॥

116. When the sense is that of Benediction, the substitutes of 'liñ' are called 'ārdhadhātuka', i. e. the personal endings of the Benedictive are 'ārdhadhātuka'.

This debars these affixes from being called sārva dhātuka. Being ārdhadhātuka they take the augment इद्, and before these affixes the root does

not take the Vikarāṇas ॥ ११७ ॥ Thus from the root कृ 'to cut', we have in the भागीनिङ्, कृषीङ्, and from the root पू 'to purify', पविशीङ्. But in the विचिनिङ् (Potential), we have the proper Vikarāṇas &c. as कृनीयाम्, पूनीयाम् ।

कन्दमुनयया ॥ ११७ ॥ पदानि ॥ अदसि, उभयया ॥

वृत्तिः ॥ कन्दसि निषये उभयया भवति सार्वधातुकार्द्धधातुकं च ॥

117. In the Vedas this distinction of *sarvadhātuka* and *ardhadhātuka* is not always maintained, and the affixes are promiscuously employed.

In the Vedas, there is no hard and fast rule about *sarvadhātuka* and *ardhadhātuka* affixes. Sometimes the निङ् and शिन् are treated as if they were *ardhadhātuka*. Thus वचन्त्वा सुहृन्वयः । Here the affixes of the वचन् are treated as *ardhadhātuka* and consequently there is the elision of the शिन् by rule VI. 4. 51; the proper form of this word would be वचश्चन्त्वा । Sometimes *ardhadhātuka* affixes are treated like *sarvadhātuka* affixes, as विष्मृदिरे, here the affixes of the स्मिन् are treated as *sarvadhātuka* and so there is the Vikarāṇa ॥ ११७ ॥ If the व is changed into व । Thus, वि + श्रु + श्रु + इरे = वि + श्रु + श्रु + इरे (III. 4. 74) = वि + श्रु + न् + इरे (VI. 4. 87) = विष्मृदिरे । Similarly, सुस्मिरे । The कृङ् is sometimes treated in the Vedas both as *sarvadhātuka* and *ardhadhātuka* at one and the same time; as उपहयैशाम् शरणं बृहन्नम् । Here, by treating the affix as *sarvadhātuka*, there is elision of स in the स्मिङ् (VII. 2. 79) and by treating it again as *ardhadhātuka*, the आ of र्या is changed into ष् । So also in स्वस्मि the affix is treated as *sarvadhātuka* and there is no substitution of नृ for अन् as required by II. 4. 52.

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